Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-023 *3 February 1994*

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French General To Head Forces in Former FRY

AU0102171094 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] United Nations, Feb 1 (AFP)—UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said here Tuesday [1 February] that French General Bertrand de Lapresle would be the new chief of UN forces in the former Yugoslavia. If confirmed by the UN Security Council, he will replace compatriot General Jean Cot at the end of March, Butrus-Ghali told a news conference.

Paris had proposed de Lapresle as Cot's replacement one week ago. France has the largest contingent of troops in the former Yugoslavia with 6,000 soldiers.

Butrus-Ghali and Cot had disagreed over the general's repeated public demands that he be given the authority to order use of air support in Bosnia-Hercegovina if he deemed it necessary. Butrus-Ghali delegated this authority to his civilian representative in Yugoslavia, Yasushi Akashi of Japan, for two operations specific to Srebrenica and Tuzla.

'Fed Up' UN Human Rights Observer May Resign

AU0302065294 Paris AFP in English 2116 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Geneva, Feb 2 (AFP)—Former Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki could resign from his post of UN rapporteur on human rights in the former Yugoslavia, an official said here Wednesday [2 February].

"I've heard he is fed up," Pieter van Wullften Palthe, chairman of the UN Commission on Human Rights told a press conference. "We are all disillusioned but I hope it's not a reason for giving up," Wullften Palthe said, adding that the resignation could be announced during the commission's current annual session, which started Monday.

Appointed in August 1992, Mazowiecki has prepared several reports on human rights abuses in the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

NATO Group Concludes 'Partnership' Talks

AU0302065194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] A high-ranking NATO delegation has ended its visit in our country. Here is a report:

[Correspondent] Continuing last evening's talks with the high-ranking NATO delegation and after stressing that Albania actively supports the Partnership for Peace [PFP] plan, Defense Minister Safet Zhulali referred to the letter by President Sali Berisha to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner in which he officially expressed Albania's desire to participate in the PFP and develop extensive cooperation within NATO. The letter also reads: We are ready to work with the political and military structures of the alliance, participate in joint military maneuvers and consultations on defense and security, and take advantage of other possibilities offered by the PFP. We are willing to offer a company, as well as our naval and air bases for the PFP purposes. Albania is the first ex-communist country to have requested NATO membership. Albania's goal continues to be membership in the North Atlantic Alliance.

The talks concluded that Albania will be prepared to draft the position paper and sign the PFP agreement in Brussels. The meeting also defined those areas in which Albania commits itself to participate, such as joint exercises, peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, and the creation of air and port facilities. They also agreed that Albania will send its own permanent representatives to the relevant NATO institutions.

NATO Assistant Secretary General Gebhardt von Moltke stated that he was impressed by Albania's performance and its readiness to participate in the PFP. We will help to complete the position paper and everything else so as to ensure Albania's active participation in the PFP plan. He asked our defense minister to convey greetings to President Sali Berisha from NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, as well as his high regard and best wishes on the cordial message and Albania's position considering PFP participation.

The high-ranking NATO delegation left our country this morning. Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, Foreign Ministry representatives, and high-ranking Defense Ministry cadres were at Rinas Airport to see the delegation off. Greek Ambassador in Tirana Khristodhoulos Tsalikis was also present.

KOHA JONE Officials Arrested

AU3101165094 Paris AFP English 1607 GMT 31 Jan 94

[Text] Tirana, Jan 31 (AFP)—The editor and a journalist on an independent Albanian newspaper have been arrested for publishing a secret Defence Ministry document, prosecutors said Monday [31 January].

Alexander Srangaj, editor of the KOHA JONE newspaper, and Martin Leka, a journalist on the paper, could face up to 10 and five years in prison respectively if found guilty of leaking a state secret.

The charges concern defence orders on arms issued to officers signed by Defence Minister Safet Zhulali, which prosecutors alleged were distorted in a story written by Leka.

Srangaj spent 35 days under house arrest last year after being arrested for publishing false information concerning the movement of Albanian tanks towards the Yugoslav frontier.

KOHA JONE denied the allegation in an article that said it was not the paper's business to keep secrets. "Can information that will be distributed to all officers and their families really be called a secret?" the newspaper asked.

Official Views Membership in Council of Europe

AU0202175094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Interview with Eduard Selami, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission in the People's Assembly, by Artjan Tepelena in Tirana; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Tepelena] Did the last session of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly approach the question of Albania's membership?

[Selami] I would say yes, because from a procedural point of view, a further step was made—namely, this session defined which correspondents will come here to draft a final report at the end of March. The commission will then discuss this and finally decide on Albania's full membership in the Council of Europe. Apart from Albania, the dispatching of correspondents was not granted to any other country, due to their own problems. Even in the meeting with Martinez, as well as with Atkinson and other group chairmen, all of them confirmed that there is no problem concerning Albania's membership. It is a procedural process for Albania to be admitted, which is why they sent correspondents. If there had been problems, then of course the contrary would have been felt—we would have said the answer is positive, but there is a problem and for this reason Albania will not be accepted.

[Tepelena] Meanwhile, foreign news agencies have been broadcasting a report concerning a Council of Europe resolution on compensation for our country's losses due to the embargo, which amount to $80 million. What do you think about this aid, and is it sufficient, especially after your discussion there, in which you once again confirmed that Albania favors the continuation of the embargo?

[Selami] I do not think it is sufficient. Our losses are greater, and this was one of the goals of the discussion. I

addressed the Council of Europe session in the name of the delegation. I think this is a good beginning. The other aspect that you mentioned, which was something special and was welcomed by some of the delegations, was the fact that despite the economic losses we are experiencing, we consider the embargo and its observation as an indispensable condition not only to stop the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina but to also prevent it from spreading to other parts, which would be very problematic. This was the message we transmitted there.

[Tepelena] Parliamentary group Chairmen Ali Spahia and Namik Dokle were also members of your delegation. Some newspapers have reported that in the discussion on human rights, the Nano question was particularly focused upon. What is your reaction?

[Selami] Of course, it was discussed. It is a problem that cannot be avoided because he is the opposition leader. Despite the fact that he is imprisoned on charges from the time when he was prime minister, it is understood that when the delegation and the commission of nonmember countries arrived here, this problem was put forward. Even now, this has become the main focus of the opposition. We regret that a consensus to enter the Council of Europe has not been reached because the Nano question is always popping up. I think that such a personalization is not fair. However, this is a problem that belongs to the opposition. I would also like to say that this was not the main problem and that it was not treated in a special way, because if it had been, the correspondents would not have come. We have discussed this question, and we think that this is a problem that justice needs to deal with. Justice will have its final say. Thus, we feel that there is nothing more that we, as a political force, can do in this direction.

[Tepelena] Thank you.

[Selami] Thank you.

Further on Visit by Iranian Foreign Minister

Three-Year Trade Accord Signed

LD0202130994 Tehran IRNA in English 1145 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Sofia, Feb. 2, IRNA—Iran's Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati wound up a two-day visit to Bulgaria Wednesday. A three-year trade agreement was signed at the end of Velayati's visit.

According to the agreement, signed by Iran's Deputy Commerce Minister Hoseyn Noqrehkar Shirazi and Bulgarian Commerce Minister Valentin Karabashev, the two countries are to boost volume of bilateral trade. Furthermore the agreement calls for creating a balance in the Tehran-Sofia trade. It also calls for setting up of a trade commisssion to oversee implementation of the terms of the agreement, propose proper solutions for the problems and find ways of boosing bilateral trade.

During his two-day visit Velayati held talks with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Foreign Minister Stanislav Daskalov.

Letter of Understanding Signed

LD0202145994 Tehran IRNA in English 1241 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Sofia, Feb. 2, IRNA—Iran and Bulgaria inked a letter of understanding for expansion of mutual cooperation in various fields, at the end of a two-day official visit here of Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati. The memorandum of understanding envisage continuous contacts between Iranian and Bulgarian political and parliamentary delegations and cooperation in the United Nations and other international organizations.

Activating bilateral economic, trade and financial relations, promoting cooperation in cultural and scientific areas and providing consular services for nationals of both countries are among other points included in the agreement.

Talking to reporters, Velayati termed his visit to Bulgaria as "constructive" and said his talks with the Bulgarian president, prime minister and foreign ministers were indicative of friendly relations between the two countries.

NSD Not To Support No-Confidence Vote

AU0202164194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] At the Council of Ministers on 2 February, a meeting took place between Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and the parliamentary faction of the New Alliance for Democracy [NSD]. The meeting took place at the invitation of Mr. Berov.

According to NSD Deputy Chairman Stefan Bozhilov, the draft budget, the proposed no-confidence vote, and certain general social and political issues were discussed at the meeting. The NSD adheres to its decision not to support the no-confidence vote proposed by the Union of Democratic Forces.

New Workers-Peasants-Monarchists Party Formed

AU0202192894 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 28 Jan 94 p 2

[BTA report: "57 People Plan To Build Communism With the King"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Workers and Peasants Party [Bulgarska Rabotnichesko-Selska Partiya] [BRSP] was established in Stara Zagora. It intends to revive communism according to Marx, Engels, and Lenin but with the assistance of the king's "strong hand."

Tomyo Zhelev, the party's leader, declared himself in support of restoring the monarchy in Bulgaria. According to him, the key cabinet seats, such as the Ministries of Internal Affairs, Defense, and Finance, could be entrusted to the sons of Simeon Coburg-Gotha. The BRSP is trying to rally all unemployed and desperate people in the country and to struggle against greed for money and for equal rights and fraternity, he declared. The leader of the new party, which has 57 members from Stara Zagora and the neighboring villages, hopes that his party will be legally registered by May 1994.

Official Discusses Relations With Moscow

AU0302085294 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 1 Feb 94 p 1

[Interview with First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexandr Vondra by Stanislav Cervinka in Prague; date not given: "The Reform Developments in Russia Will Probably Slow Down"]

[Text] Last week, First Deputy Foreign Minister Alexandr Vondra made a two-day trip to Moscow. We were interested in the purpose of the visit and the impressions he brought back to Prague.

[Vondra] I attended a regular annual consultation between the Foreign Ministries. With the single exception of the parliament observer mission, there has been no official mission there from our country since the elections. We discussed the agenda for next year. I met with two Russian deputy foreign ministers, Churkin and Kirov. I mentioned the crude oil issue in the context of the planned joint commission for the economy, which is supposed to be headed by deputy prime ministers—we are waiting for the Russian component to be formed, which will be possible only after the restructuring of the Russian Government. A protocol is signed annually on the supplies of crude oil and power plant fuel, and the new commission will also deal with this issue. Regarding the recent five-day interruption in supply, I can only say that I do not believe that it was caused by some political influence. Crude oil prices were declining on the world markets at the end of last year, and I have the impression that Chemapol and Transpetrol were eliminating their stock. They acted in a market-conforming manner, and did not think of the complications that could arise if reserves smaller than usual are maintained, as happened at the beginning of this year before the Russian Government was formed. The processing of the relevant documents was delayed in the still non-market environment in the Russian Federation.

[Cervinka] What is the new political climate like in Moscow?

[Vondra] I wanted to utilize the visit to Moscow to probe the situation in the Russian parliament. I met with the deputies of all the main political streams, and it is my impression that a somewhat new stage is beginning in the development in the Russian Federation, that the future progress of particularly the economic reforms will be limited by the political will of the parliament, and the support for a rapid transfer to capitalism and free market will clearly decline.

[Cervinka] Can these changes lead to a change of the development initiated in Russia?

[Vondra] It is difficult to predict. A complete retardation of this development backwards [as published] may not be possible, but it is likely that a slow down and a change in the style of the reforms will occur, and a trend will commence toward command methods in the management of the economy.

The anti-inflationary policy and budget stabilization will no longer be a priority. It is possible that inflation will be reduced in Russia by the non-market measures, a price regulation at the cost of a budget deficit.

[Cervinka] Can the changes you have indicated affect relations between Prague and Moscow?

[Vondra] I believe that we completed the basic transformation steps long time ago, and the distance between Prague and Moscow—in this respect—has grown sufficiently.

Klaus 'Angry' Over Austrian Stance on Temelin

LD0202195794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus expressed alarm today about Austria's consistently voiced doubts about the completion of the Temelin nuclear power plant construction. He pointed out that the Czech Government's stance on this matter is final. Our Prague correspondent Daniela Galikova reports in more detail:

[Galikova] According to Vaclav Klaus, the Czech Government does not identify itself with Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky's idea of a nuclear-free Europe. However, this does not mean that the government denies Austria's right to hold its own view. Nevertheless, being the government of an independent state, the Czech Government is also entitled to a different view. I am angry that Austria does not take seriously the fact that the Czech Government's decision on completing the construction of the Temelin nuclear plant is final. I do not understand the reasons for the debate on not completing the Temelin power station or rebuilding it to use gas fuel.

[Begin Klaus recording] Why should I continue to write letters or issue statements because somebody on the Austrian side seems to hold the view that we did not in fact mean our decision and that it was a joke by the Czech Government or perhaps an attempt to prod our neighbors? This is simply untrue. Should I put this in stronger terms or in very strong terms? I am simply saying it. [end recording]

[Galikova] The Czech prime minister went on to say that the entire affair has gone beyond the framework of the present Austrian Government's usual attitude toward the completion of Temelin. He goes so far as to consider this to be inappropriate, especially in the context, which he mentioned, of his talks a few days ago with officials from Switzerland and Germany, whose nuclear power stations are as close to the Austrian border as is Temelin. However, there are no protests against them. As regards Austria's attempt to choose whom they consider to be a weaker partner and use them as a testing ground, I have

to say that we are not a weaker partner, Vaclav Klaus stressed when speaking in Prague a few hours ago.

Transformer Fire at Dukovany Nuclear Plant

AU0302134694 Paris AFP in English 1334 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Prague, Feb 3 (AFP)—A transformer fire Thursday morning at the Czech nuclear power plant in Dukovany, in the eastern Moravian region, caused no casualties nor radiation leaks, the CTK news agency reported.

The fire, which broke out shortly after 7 a.m. (0600 GMT) at the plant's third reactor, was extinguished two hours later, the agency said.

Power was maintained at minimal level throughout the incident, after initially dropping to 30 percent below minimum when the fire broke out, it added.

The state of the third reactor had "stabilized" after the incident, which was classed as level 0 on the INES international scale, according to an expert from the state nuclear security office quoted by CTK.

The plant, some 40 kilometres (25 miles) north of the Austrian border in Moravia, has four 440 megawatt ex-Soviet-built VVER [water-moderated water-cooled power reactor] reactors.

The incident came a day after Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus confirmed his country's decision to press ahead with building a nuclear power plant at Temelin in southern Bohemia—a project which has been heavily criticized by Austria, which fears radioactive fallout from possible accidents.

The Temelin plant, to be completed in two or three years at a site only 40 kilometres from the Austrian border, will have two 1,000 megawatt ex-Soviet-type VVER reactors.

Austria, which has banned nuclear facilities on its territory, has asked Prague to build a gas-based plant instead.

Klaus said his government's decision was "final" and that Austria "should recognize the sovereignty of the Czech Republic."

Responding to Klaus's remarks later Wednesday, Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said Vienna would continue its efforts to block construction of the plant.

A nuclear accident "would not only be a risk for the sovereign Czech Republic, but also for the neighbouring populations," Vranitzky said, adding that the April 1986 accident at Ukraine's Chernobyl nuclear plant "was not limited to sovereign contamination."

Austrian efforts to block the project were undermined last Thursday when the American EXIM-Bank decided to guarantee a loan needed to complete the Temelin project. Citi-Bank was authorized to grant a 317 million dollar loan to the plant's builder, Westinghouse.

Klaus: No Damage, Danger

LD0302140294 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Fire broke out today at the tap transformer of the third bloc of Dukovany [South Moravia] nuclear power station. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus reported on this at noon:

[Begin Klaus recording] The fire broke out at 0712 hours and was localized within 30 minutes. I stress that the fire broke out as a result of a fault on the tap transformer. This electric facility is located in an open area about 50 meters from the reactor hall. From this point of view, this fire did not at all touch the area of nuclear safety and, from the point of view of the internationally recognized scale that is used to assess accidents from the nuclear safety point of view, the situation was of the lowest degree of alert, that is zero. This means that there was no infringement upon nuclear safety or radiation protection, and no radioactive substances escaped into the environment as a result of this emergency situation.

There was even no need to apply any emergency measures to protect the reactor against the tap transformer fire. [end recording]

Bank Provides Figures on Foreign Capital

AU0302153094 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Feb 94 p 1

[Report by Martin Frydl: "The Total Volume of Loans Enterprises Obtained From Abroad Last Year Surpassed $1.1 Billion"]

[Excerpts] In 1993, the enterprise sphere in the Czech Republic obtained credits from foreign lenders to the tune of approximately $1.1 billion, Jiri Zimola, director of the Foreign Currency Department of the Czech National Bank has told HOSPODARSKE NOVINY. Approximately $285 million has already been paid off, leaving a balance of $825 million. In 1992, the balance was $339.6 million, and in 1991 $172.5 million. A further growth in the balance is expected this year.

According to Zimola, the overall structure of the capital flow into the Czech Republic is gradually changing. In the first stage, in 1992, government arranged loans from international financial institutions—particularly the IMF—were dominant. In 1992, direct investment exceeded $1 billion. This year, this has declined somewhat (to approximately $500 million), but foreign credit and portfolio investment show an upward trend.

The reasons for the increasing loans from abroad are mostly their lower price (interest) and a shortage of, above all, long-term loans from Czech banks. Two-thirds of the foreign credits are loans for terms longer than four years. [passage omitted]

On the whole, according to Zimola, it can be said that the volume of credits from abroad shows a highly progressive trend, and favorably influences the general development on the balance of payments and the foreign currency reserves. [passage omitted]

Foreign Currency Reserves Increase

AU1102142394 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Feb 94 p 2

["(num)"-signed report: "Foreign Currency Reserves Have Reached $6.6 Billion"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The development of foreign currency reserves in the banking system shows a similar tempo as in the most dynamic periods last year. This follows from information provided to HOSPODARSKE NOVINY by Ondrej Kvacek from the Czech National Bank's Press Department. In January, the level of foreign currency reserves in the banking system rose from $6.2 billion to $6.5 billion. The National Bank's foreign currency reserves rose from $4.1 billion to $3.8 billion at the end of 1993. In the commercial banks, it remained at $2.4 billion. [passage omitted]

Meciar Rejects Talks on Hungarian Rights

LD0302125994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] The Slovak prime minister [Vladimir Meciar] said that he is not willing to hold talks on the Hungarian minority's collective rights, because the rights of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia, as he said, are already excessive.

At a Bratislava rally of his party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, Meciar said, we quote: There is complete freedom in Slovakia, therefore, those who want to leave can do so at any time. He added that the Slovak Government will not pursue a policy to suit certain circles of the Hungarian Republic.

Moravcik on Relations With Central Europe

LD0202161894 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovenska Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The agenda of the 26th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic includes a document on the foreign policy of Slovakia in 1993 and its priorities in 1994. [passage omitted] Editor Magda Paspisilova reports from the building of the parliament.

[Paspisilova] It has already become a tradition that a discussion of such a fundamental topic of our foreign policy is being watched by ambassadors, heads of missions, and diplomats accredited in the Slovak Republic. The opening address on the report on the fulfilment of tasks and the current aims was delivered by Minister of Foreign Affairs Jozef Moravcik.

He stressed in the beginning that if there is a sphere where a high degree of consensus of all, or at least an overwhelming majority of political parties, is consistently sought, then it is the sphere of foreign policy.

Slovakia entered the international scene with a positive assessment of the peaceful division of Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted]

Three postulates were being stressed when dividing Czechoslovakia: first, the two new states will take over all the tasks of the disappearing states as two successor states; second, the international community should apply the principle of an undifferentiated approach towards the two successor states; third, the division of Czechoslovakia will not disturb stability in Central Europe. Following the division of Czechoslovakia we have concluded 2,004 bilateral treaties and 987 multilateral treaties. Last year we signed 54 new treaties [all figures as heard]. Others are currently being discussed at the expert level.

Minister Moravcik considers that one of the most important of last year's successes was the signing of the European agreement on Slovakia's association to the European Union. The process of ratification of this agreement in the European Parliament and in the parliaments of the individual member countries of the European Union has already started. We shall pay priority attention to its success this year. [passage omitted]

Jozef Moravcik went on to say:

[Begin Moravcik recording] The principle of an undifferentiated approach towards the two successor states was generally accepted by the international community. It was fully implemented, for example, also during our acceptance into the Council of Europe. It accompanied our establishment on the international scene. Another matter is whether or not we will be able to continue keeping pace with the Czech Republic. This will depend on internal political viewpoints. This problem emerges strongly in connection with the deliberations on expanding NATO and with the separation of Slovakia from the first group of the states aspiring to NATO membership, which sometimes happens. The causes of this separation should not be sought in foreign political or even internal political conspiracy against Slovakia. Slovakia must concentrate on maintaining a good pace in building democratic institutions, in developing basic institutions and values in the pluralistic society and the market economy environment.

The assurance that the division of Czechoslovakia will not influence stability in Central Europe, which we gave when dividing the federation, has been fulfilled to the extent that our common state has been divided in a peaceful and cultivated way. Our natural pledge towards Europe, but above all, towards ourselves, is to maintain the stability of Central Europe. It means developing cooperation with our neighbours and deepening the atmosphere of trust, possibly creating it where it is lacking.

This relates, above all, to Hungary. If we want to create mutual trust we must completely eliminate any confrontational tone and establish a dialogue as the fundamental method of seeking compromise. Apprehensions of irredentism, nurtured by unsuitable statements of some politicians in our country and in Hungary, are being felt in Slovakia. Allegations are spread from Hungary about non-adherence to fundamental rights of national minorities. The institutional mechanism must be created to eliminate suspicions on both sides. Its basis could be an agreement containing principles of correct behaviour, that is what is being created within the CSCE. I believe that the project of the pact of stability in Europe, which is being prepared under the auspices of the European Union, will contribute towards creating the atmosphere of trust.

It is important for stability in central Europe that the questions of rights of national minorities should not become a permanent problem. It is desirable as soon as possible to achieve a stabilizing solution so that we might avoid situations where satisfaction of one demand is a pretext for presenting other demands. It is also important, above all, for us, since we are characterized by ethnically mixed areas, that the rights of minorities do not create artificial boundaries among the citizens of various ethnic groups. I have in mind the so-called collective rights of national minorities. The principles of a multiethnic society rather than the principle of creating ethnically compact entities, could be useful in the process of uniting Europe. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Boross Comments on Minorities, NATO, Security

LD0202234994 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 2050 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Peter Boross by correspondent Judit Jarai, place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Jarai] Do you think that full membership of the European Union can be attained in five or six years?

[Boross] [passage omitted] As a matter of fact, it can. It can be attained if the Hungarian economy is no longer hit by crises such as the collapse of the Soviet market or the Yugoslav war. [passage omitted] Or a crisis like the West European recession.

[[Jarai] According to the prime minister, will this association membership cover security issues as well, apart from cooperation and political dialogue?

[Boross] [passage omitted] I have to mention here the Partnership for Peace, which provides an opportunity to get closer to NATO. [passage omitted] It is a rule for a country of Hungary's size to seek entry to security organizations, European and NATO, as soon as possible, because in this way we will be given definite security guarantees. I think it takes some time.

[Jarai] I think it is evident that the security of Eastern Europe depends on the settling of minority issues. [passage omitted] Can the Balladur plan help our region to sort out these conflicts through negotiations and peaceful means?

[Boross] Every plan that has the backing of sufficiently strong political forces and which aims to consolidate these conditions can help. [passage omitted] I would like to add that sometimes the minority issue becomes synonymous with fighting and the danger of war and so on. This is not true. In Yugoslavia, the war is going on between nations. I consider it inconceivable for neighboring countries with a Hungarian minority, however aggressive they become, to reach a stage where they would want a conflict. [passage omitted]

We are fully aware of our own intentions, [that is] to settle or at least improve these issues by political means: Applying peaceful means, seeking understanding, but at the same time strongly representing ethnic Hungarians living beyond the border.

[Jarai] In your view, what mechanisms can this plan [Balladur's plan] contain?

[Boross] What the Hungarians [magyarsag] beyond the border require—and I say this in a very simplified way—is to live as Hungarians. [passage omitted] Their demands have to be addressed first. In addition to this, atrocities, unnecessary provocation must not befall them. I think, for example, of the bill on population proportions [in Slovakia], which enables manipulation through a change of administrative borders [reference to Slovak aspirations to redraw administrative districts, a move which would result in districts with small Hungarian populations]. It is a crude method and the cloven hoof is showing. There are those who want to evade responsibilities in this way.

I think that the very simple needs have to be submitted. It has to be said again that the country, and the Hungarians [magyarsag] as such, do not strive immediately to swoop down on the borders—that were guaranteed by peace treaties—and to overturn them. This is the phobia that haunts many in our neighborhood. [passage omitted]

It is our responsibility to represent the interests of Hungarians beyond the border. [passage omitted]

Official Views Advantages of EU Association

AU0202110594 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Feb 94 pp 1,11

[Interview with Endre Juhasz, administrative state secretary at the Ministry for International Economic Relations, by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Customs Lifted, Rights of Freedom Extended"]

[Text] Hungary's Association Agreement with the European Union comes into force today, 1 February. We interviewed Endre Juhasz on this occasion on the significance of the agreement and the chances of the Hungarian economy to catch up with and integrate into Europe.

[Bossanyi] What do we have to know about today: What will change compared to the already known export allowances?

[Juhasz] The trade section of the association agreement came into force in March 1992, therefore, the paragraphs of the agreement that are valid from today do not affect the already functioning trade system. In fact, in 1993 in Copenhagen, a decision was made on accelerating and extending this. For Hungary, and the European Union [EU], the 1 February date rather has a significance of principle. From today, the regulations that deal with the other three market economy freedom rights—in addition to the trade agreement—will begin to operate. These apply to the movement of labor, capital, and services. Through this, rights and obligations that are very important for Hungary come into force, and at the same time, the implementation of the cooperation program can also begin. The preparation of the legal harmonization program belongs here, and the planning of projects affecting industry, agriculture, investment development, and education and training, which we have not been able to start yet. The cooperation also extends to various areas of transport and traffic, environmental protection, and culture.

[Bossanyi] Let us look at the already existing section of the Association Agreement, namely the trade section. In

your experience, is the agreement entirely advantageous for the country or are there any areas where we are now in a disadvantageous position for various reasons?

[Juhasz] In 1992, the agreement had a clearly dynamic effect because Hungarian exports to the European Community increased much faster than exports to other areas that have similar market economies—for example the countries of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] or the United States. This no longer applied in 1993, mainly due to the western recession. The decline of our exports to the EU was more marked than to other regions.

[Bossanyi] Does this mean that the Association Agreement did not give us concrete advantages in the deepening recession?

[Juhasz] On the contrary. Without the agreement, our exports would probably have fallen even more. Even then, we managed to use our preferential quotas, except in some areas of agriculture. However, the lack of competitive Hungarian products was the main reason for the latter.

[Bossanyi] Did we also fill our textile quota?

[Juhasz] We had the opportunity to do so, exports were not hindered by the quotas. In this area, the decrease of labor applied to imported materials with the purpose of reexport was a disadvantage for us. Quotas no longer exist in other industrial areas. However, there are so-called customs ceilings and customs quotas. If we exceeded these, then in theory, the EU could reinstate the customs but this did not happen last year. All in all, we can say that the Association Agreement gave greater scope to Hungarian goods in spite of the recession.

[Bossanyi] When the Association Agreement was signed, many interest groups—and mainly the domestic agrarian lobby—argued that the Hungarian government had given concessions in the hope of achieving association relatively quickly, and it does not adequately protect, for example, agricultural exports from the EC's protectionism. Now they probably feel that their worries were justified.

[Juhasz] I do not think so because the fact that we did not make full use of the agricultural quotas mainly has domestic economic reasons. Naturally, it can always be said that the doors could have been opened wider in the area of technical conditions. However, it is our experience that we usually have problems filling the quotas.

[Bossanyi] The EU very firmly protects and supports its agricultural producers, while in Hungary, the opposite of this is happening. The producers of the countries that became associate members earlier—Greece, Turkey, and Spain—also suffered the same way. Will we also support the agricultural interests that they represent?

[Juhasz] In the current phase, we have a conflict of interests with the EU's agricultural lobby because we would also like to expand our marketing possibilities in the future. The EU's agricultural producers and their interest groups are our competitors. Naturally, we are trying to learn from the experience of other countries but this does not mean that we do not compete with each other.

[Bossanyi] Are you holding talks on further extending the quotas?

[Juhasz] In the light of the GATT Uruguay round, the quotas will presumably have to be renegotiated. The conceptual system of the association agreement will have to be amended because a decision was arrived at within the framework of the 1993 GATT agreement that measures other than customs have to be eradicated. One of these, for example, is the skimming system. Our concept was in accordance with a former system, therefore, this can now be changed. In my view, we will probably have talks on adjusting the customs and we are hoping to use this to expand our advantages.

[Bossanyi] These will not only apply to agricultural products, will they?

[Juhasz] They will. In the case of industrial products, in the spirit of the Copenhagen program, all limitations will be lifted within a foreseeable time. From 31 December 1994, all customs duties will cease to exist in the so-called sensitive product groups. There are almost 100 of these. Customs duties will cease to exist on steel products by the end of 1995 and on textiles by the end of 1996. This affects almost all industrial products, therefore, we consider that the possibilities of Hungarian products getting to Union markets are good. In addition to this, we are also making progress in standardization and in coordinating the quality requirements, but this is a continuous task, it is not determined by deadlines.

[Bossanyi] What changes can be expected in the assertion of the other three economic rights of freedom that are now becoming a possibility for us?

[Juhasz] The current step of the Association Agreement opens the markets for Hungary in areas other than trade. However, these deadlines are relatively long, some are five or 10 years away, but some areas come into force now. For example, in purchases by authorities, we can participate in the EU's contract awarding procedures according to national treatment from 1 February. This means that, in bids, the Hungarian suppliers will be treated the same way as the other enterprises of the Union. At the same time, we will only give them this right in 10 years' time. This is also part of the process of catching up.

[Bossanyi] Will our employment chances increase?

[Juhasz] It is well known that very little progress has been made in this area. However, it is not negligible that Hungarian workers will have to be treated without discrimination in the area of the EU as regards their working conditions and pay.

[Bossanyi] Is the associate membership a forerunner to full membership?

[Juhasz] The government declared that it wants to achieve full membership by the end of the century. The associate membership makes it possible for us to deal with this in an institutional form. Talks on Hungarian membership will begin when the EFTA talks are completed. This will probably be in 1994. In addition to this, the Union will convene an inter-governmental conference in 1996 which is meant to reexamine the institutional system. This conference should ensure that the Union remains able to function in spite of the larger membership. It will be decided after this when we can begin talks on our membership. Based on our current information, we think that this will be in 1997. This is the planned scenario. However, a separate government decision is needed before the application for membership can be submitted.

Social Democratic Party Statement of Goals

AU0102144394 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 29 Jan 94 p 1 of Supplement on Social Democracy

["Text" of statement by Social Democratic Party of Hungary: "Dear Electors!"]

[Text] On 3 October 1993, the united Social Democratic Party of Hungary [MSZDP] was established. Zoltan Kiraly is its chairman, Istvan Podkoniczky its general secretary, and Endre Borbely is its deputy chairman. Thus, we can represent the 100-years old social democratic values with a renewed force.

The MSZDP, the party of society, wants a Hungary,

—where the state serves the interests of society and individuals,

—where the basic human rights are respected, everyone is free to practice his religion, and, at the same time, state and church are separate,

—where religious, ethnic, cultural, or other minorities cannot be discriminated against,

—where the equality of women is not only true on paper,

—where citizens' equality of opportunity prevails in education and culture, and participation in health and welfare provisions is ensured,

—where the burden of taxation is justly shared and people can live in security,

—where Eastern-Central European countries that are striving to establish democratic societies and welfare market economies can implement mutually advantageous cooperation,

—where those forms of ownership that are most efficient from the economy's and society's point of view exist side by side, and the state does not interfere in the economy,

—where the state accepts the obligation for ensuring education, culture, health, and welfare provisions,

—where tax and customs allowances are given to those enterprises that create workplaces, and unemployment is fought through retraining and further training,

—where modern agricultural production is done in cooperatives and farms,

—where socially controlled privatization is accomplished with the participation of the employees,

—where the influx of foreign capital helps technical development and the creation of workplaces,

—where the state, local governments, and society institutionally ensure the reduction of natural and environmental damage,

—where strong trade unions ensure the interest protection of employees,

—where the real value of pensions is preserved through legal guarantees,

—where the material subsistence level is guaranteed by a social insurance system that includes all citizens,

—where young people beginning their working life can acquire dwellings through preferential loans.

Democratic Federation Issues Election Program

AU0202173094 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Feb 94 p 5

[Unattributed report: "With the Election Program for the Family and Public Safety, the National Democratic Federation Proposes To Reinstate the Death Penalty"]

[Text] Yesterday's news conference by the National Democratic Forum focused on the family because this issue is an organic part of the election program of the National Democratic Federation [NDSZ]. According to NDSZ Chairman Imre Pozsgay, this is all the more timely because the United Nations has declared 1994 the year of the family.

Analyzing this subject, the NDSZ issued a separate information booklet and NDSZ spokesman Karoly Lorant summed up the content of this booklet. Among other things, he pointed out that while the European countries with the smallest demographic increase showed an average of 0.5 percent increase in population annually in the past decade, the population of Hungary is dropping at an annual rate of 0.4 percent. The role of the family is constantly weakening and the percentage of one-parent families is increasing. In addition, the number of births is decreasing and the health condition of the population is constantly deteriorating. It is probably the result of all these factors that we are witnessing a worldwide unique phenomenon here, namely a decrease in the number of the population in peace time. The NDSZ is convinced that one can and must change

this trend, and the key to this is an increase in the role of the family and return to its former social rank.

The NDSZ election program wants to find long-term solutions by taking all this into consideration, Karoly Lorant pointed out. The NDSZ is in favor of coexistence of several generations and of support for families with children and for starting a family. The NDSZ wants equal opportunities in education and a job for every person starting his career. In addition, the NDSZ finds it necessary to carry out a thorough modernization of the pension system, with particular emphasis on preserving the real value of the pensions.

In the second half of the news conference, Imre Pozsgay and parliament Deputy Zoltan Varga answered questions regarding the elections. Imre Pozsgay said that the NDSZ would probably have a candidate in every individual election district, as well as a list in all the counties and in Budapest. However, Imre Pozsgay declined to say anything about the nominees because the list must first be accepted by the national committee at its meeting scheduled for the middle of February. Imre Pozsgay and Zoltan Biro have not yet decided on whether to run as individual candidates. At the same time, Imre Pozsgay's words allow us to speculate that he would not reject such a development.

Zoltan Varga announced at this news conference that together with his colleague Peter Szell, they intend to present a legal amendment proposal to parliament regarding the restoration of the death penalty. Their decision came in the wake of the tragedies in their election district and in Szeged and the ensuing panic mood.

Milewski on 'Partnership,' Post, Arms Industry

WS0302113094 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Interview with Jerzy Milewski, Polish deputy defense minister and chief of the National Security Bureau, by Andrzej Woyciechowski at the Radio Zet studio in Warsaw on the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] Good morning to you.

[Milewski] Good morning.

[Woyciechowski] Poland is a partner of NATO as of yesterday. Half of the Polish people do not understand what that means.

[Milewski] Poland has declared its willingness to participate in a program which was proposed at the NATO summit on 10 January and which is called Partnership for Peace. The program was offered to all postcommunist countries, as well to those of the former Soviet bloc. It is an individually oriented program, the contents of which contents will be negotiated and determined with each country separately.

[Woyciechowski] You say, "will be negotiated." That means Poland has not negotiated the program yet, in terms of details.

[Milewski] Not yet, since all Prime Minister Pawlak did in Brussels yesterday was to officially declare Poland's intention to join the program.

[Woyciechowski] Who will negotiate the details—the Defense Ministry [MON], the Sejm, or the National Security Bureau? Which of these institutions will determine the details?

[Milewski] It will be the government, that is beyond any doubt. The most important ministries in the government that will be dealing with it will be MON and the Foreign Ministry.

[Woyciechowski] Poland is NATO's third partner—prior to us, the treaty was signed by Romania and Lithuania, with Estonia signing tomorrow. Did we all sign the same thing [words indistinct]?

[Milewski] It is exactly the same thing. It is simply an official intention of a given country to participate in the Partnership. All the texts are exactly the same and the agreements that will be signed between specific countries and NATO—these will be individually oriented.

[Woyciechowski] The document we signed—is that a very detailed text comprising 100 pages, or perhaps is it half-a-page long?

[Milewski] It is just one page.

[Woyciechowski] So it is a very general kind of document.

[Milewski] Yes, it is a completely general kind of document which only expresses intentions which are in accordance with so-called Western standards regarding democracy in a given country, transparency of military budgets....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Is the Polish military budget transparent?

[Milewski] In my view, it is too transparent....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Too transparent, meaning?

[Milewski] Meaning that there are simply no longer any....[pauses] A military budget should be a matter of confidence or secrecy regarding some items, because it is after all the issue of a country's entire defense system. As far as Poland is concerned, both our defense industry, the budget, and various military issues are too public nowadays—no legal provisions concerning state secrets are being observed.

[Woyciechowski] So the devil is in the details, in how specific the treaty will be, I mean the treaty between Poland and NATO. It depends on the size of those military units which we intend to devote to cooperation with NATO. Do we know precisely how big they will be?

[Milewski] No, we do not. We are deliberating right now what kind of units should be proposed to NATO within our version of the Partnership for Peace program. It is definitely known that it is the West's intention for Poland to have a greater contribution to UN peace efforts....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Greater than Estonia and Lithuania.

Mr. Minister, what is a platoon? How many soldiers are there in a platoon?

[Milewski] There are about 30 men in a platoon, if you mean a classic platoon of infantry or mechanized units.

[Woyciechowski] You have heard—just like everyone else—a statement by a Polish officer who said on television a few days ago that Poland will designate an entire platoon for cooperation with NATO.

[Milewski] No, that is a misunderstanding. As far as the long term is concerned, Poland intends to be an equal member of NATO with full rights—just as we want to be an equal member of the European Union, a member with full rights; our goal is full integration of our country with Western organizations, so as far as the long term is concerned, the entire operational Armed Forces of the Polish Republic will be placed at NATO's disposal in case of a conflict....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] So this will not be a platoon but many divisions, many armies. What do you mean by the entire operational forces?

[Milewski] The entire Polish operational forces currently comprise 11 divisions plus four independent brigades.

[Woyciechowski] Is that a great deal compared with our neighbors like Lithuania, Estonia, or Romania? Do we have more than them?

[Milewski] We have much more than Lithuania or Estonia—what we have is within the limits which were granted to us by the Vienna treaties; that is to say, about 250,000 soldiers and officers.

[Woyciechowski] When you say long term—what specific year do you mean? When will it happen?

[Milewski] It will happen when the member [as heard] will be a regular member of NATO—I think it will happen in the next few years, before the year 2000; even Western politicians have been saying that recently. It seems that a period of three to four years should be sufficient to prepare Poland for membership in NATO, which would be with full rights and equal membership. Which does not mean that we are not looking for a political protection shield against increasing dangers from the East much earlier than that date.

[Woyciechowski] Mr. Minister, let us return for a moment to those divisions which we will be able to earmark for cooperation with NATO some day—this could happen perhaps within three to four years, as you said. What must we do to those divisions and soldiers? Do we have to change their uniforms, machine guns, boots, and everything else, or will these preparations be easier than that?

[Milewski] No. All that has to be changed is the command system with regard to the aforementioned divisions and brigades, and also the way of communication among them and with the higher command—that must also be changed.

[Woyciechowski] What does that mean?

[Milewski] Communications systems and fire-steering systems must be made uniform, simply....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Does it mean that military commands will be given in English as of now? Fire!—will that be in English?

[Milewski] Not in the case of commands at the level of a platoon, about which you asked, but commands given at the level of a division will of course have to be in English.

[Woyciechowski] That means that Polish generals will be communicating with their British or American colleagues in English?

[Milewski] Not just Polish generals, but all Polish officers should speak English, just as is the case with armies of Western, non-English-speaking countries.

[Woyciechowski] Newspapers publish a poll today conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center in which Poles are asked the question: In case of a danger to its independence, can Poland rely on Western aid? Fifty-one percent of Poles say absolutely no, 32 percent say yes, and 17 percent—don't know. Could you answer the question for those 17 percent of Polish people who do not know? So the question is: Can Poland rely on Western aid or not?

[Milewski] Poland can rely on Western aid on the condition that Poland can first demonstrate it is capable of making its own defense effort—then Poland can rely on being provided additional foreign aid. But if Poland does not show any effort on its own and if it was to wait passively for someone to give Poland a protective umbrella as a gift, then in that case, it will not receive the umbrella.

[Woyciechowski] So to translate into plain language what you have said here: Poland should defend itself for some days or some weeks, and only then.... [pauses] Is my understanding correct, or did I overdo it?

[Milewski] You missed the point. Once the conflict is in progress, then it is too late since such conflicts erupt very suddenly nowadays. In practical terms, the issue is that in a situation where Poland has already joined the Partnership for Peace program, Poland should show its high activity as part of the program; it should demonstrate a real effort toward integration with NATO forces. In that case, we will have a response from the other side. But if all we do is passively wait and just keep asking for shipments of new tanks, new aircraft, and also keep asking for protection, and if we fail to demonstrate the effort I mentioned—in that case we may not receive aid. After all, there is a simple rule in effect in the West: Help yourself first, and only then will I also [words indistinct] aid to you.

[Woyciechowski] Now, the efforts that you have talked about—do they reflect the political will of the Polish Government and the will of other Polish authorities? Or is this simply money?

[Milewski] First, this is a political will....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Is this will present today?

[Milewski] Well, yes, it is declared by all three branches of authority in Poland: by the legislative, executive, and.... [pauses] Well, the judicial authorities are actually not making any statements....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] But there is the problem of money.

[Milewski] No, an organizational effort must also be made by the entire defense system in Poland, in which, of course, the Army is the most important element.

[Woyciechowski] Today the arms industry has announced a four-hour strike. Some factories will be on strike all day. In one of today's dailies, SZTANDAR [MLODYCH], I have found information that one of the things that the unionists are protesting is the fact that the government has recently blocked two major contracts for

the sale of tanks; they claim that these two contracts for the sale of Polish tanks abroad would have saved the arms industry in Poland. Is this true?

[Milewski] I do not know anything about the government's blocking any contracts of our arms industry. However, I do know that it is very difficult to sell our military equipment abroad because it really is of poorer quality than products available in the West. The advantage that we have is that our products are much cheaper. However, our closest neighbors are somehow more skilled in trade—they are in the same conditions as we are....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] You are probably referring to the Czech Republic, are you not?

[Milewski] I am referring to the Czech Republic, Hungary.

[Woyciechowski] Is it today not so that some countries would be willing to buy Polish tanks and Polish cannons; some countries would like to purchase them because they are not sold by anyone else—for political reasons—and we do not want to sell anything like that to those countries because they are under UN sanctions?

[Milewski] If a country is under UN sanctions, then we certainly must respect that.

[Woyciechowski] And we cannot violate them, even for economic reasons?

[Milewski] No, we cannot violate them because in such a case the political as well as material losses that our country would incur would be much greater than any profit derived from such a contract.

[Woyciechowski] Mr. Minister, let us change the subject for a while. Do you think that the prime minister has the right to recall a deputy minister without the consent of the relevant minister?

[Milewski] This question should actually be addressed to the prime minister. The prime minister appoints both deputy ministers and general directors in all ministries; that is to say, if we go by the rule that the mode of appointing those officials is the same as the mode of recalling them, then we must say that the prime minister undoubtedly is entitled to recall them. However, the relevant minister should be involved in this process because it is, in fact, he who selects his cooperators. Nevertheless, in exceptional situations, as we know, also such situations are possible—not only in Poland, but also in the West.

[Woyciechowski] Some people believe that in recent days, or in recent weeks, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], one of the coalition partners, wants your scalp—it wants the scalp of Milewski. It wants you recalled from the post of MON deputy minister.

[Milewski] Well, no one has told me about that; no one told me that someone is after my scalp. However, I can sometimes hear the criticism—which is completely unfounded—that I allegedly fulfill various functions in various segments of authority, which is said to violate the principle of the division of powers. I would like to say now that this is false, because the principle of division of powers means that different people are related to the legislative branch, different people to the executive branch, and different people to the judicial branch. These powers should not be combined; for example, deputies, who are members of the legislative branch, should not be appointed ministers and deputy ministers. Now, the president's and the prime minister's segments are two segments of the executive branch which should be integrated with each other. Therefore, shortening the distance between the Belvedere establishments and the establishments of the Office of the Council of Ministers is not only possible, but should be recommended.

[Woyciechowski] Like a good soldier, you are defending yourself through attack. I have discerned this allusion to the coalition's desire to introduce a minister of SLD to MON. You implied that a deputy should not simultaneously be a deputy minister. What does the situation in MON really look like: Is it going to have a minister proposed by SLD and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], or not?

[Milewski] If there are experts who will be able to fulfill various functions—functions of deputy ministers, general directors, department heads—then I can see no reason why they should not fulfill them; in MON, and certainly in MON under Piotr Kolodziejczyk, people are selected for reasons other than political—the main criterion is that of expertise. However, if the only purpose of the operation of introducing new deputy ministers is the limitation of constitutional powers of the minister in his ministry, then this just cannot be accepted.

[Woyciechowski] Is it possible, then, that within a month new deputy ministers—proposed by SLD or PSL—will come to MON?

[Milewski] I find it difficult to make any statement on behalf of the minister, who is on leave; however, as far as I know about the plans that he approved and submitted to us when he was taking over the office of MON head, I can tell you that he will not make any selection based on criteria other than substantive, and that he will not agree that any other—political or ideological—criteria be taken into account. The minister accepts exclusively the criterion of expertise.

[Woyciechowski] This means that new deputy ministers will come if they are nonpolitical experts. Can we say that?

[Milewski] This is what I think I can say on behalf of my superior. However, he has not authorized me to....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] The minister is on holiday in the mountains. Do you not like winter in the mountains? Will you be in Warsaw, or will you leave?

[Milewski] I like winter in the mountains very much. I was a mountaineer. However, I no longer spend my holiday in the mountains—not only because I have no time for that, but also because I am already past the age when one can climb mountains.

[Woyciechowski] Do you ski?

[Milewski] No, I do not. I have never skied; I have always devoted my free time to mountaineering.

[Woyciechowski] Now, let us change the subject once again: Zhirinovskiy, this phenomenon of Zhirinovskiy. What do you think of him?

[Milewski] I think that Zhirinovskiy himself is a dangerous character, maybe as dangerous as Hitler. However, the emergence of Zhirinovskiy is the result of a certain climate which has dominated Russia. This climate is dangerous. In a situation of great poverty in everyday life, many people in that country are still being fed by the vision of imperialism, a vision of being the most important country in the world; it is an abstract vision that is contrary to the well-understood interests of the Russian people and other peoples of the Russian Federation. Now, the emergence of Zhirinovskiy has made it obvious to us that such a social trend is dominating in that country. It is a very dangerous trend. Thus, I would say that Zhirinovskiy is actually doing us a favor—by revealing this trend, the existence of which many Western politicians did not want to believe. Well, we know perfectly well that it is there.

[Woyciechowski] Thank you very much for the interview.

[Milewski] Good-bye.

Deputy Prime Minister Said Prepared To Resign

LD0202180594 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] The head of the Marek Borowski's office in Pila has told a Radio Koszalin reporter that the deputy prime minister and minister of finance has declared that he will tender his resignation from the post of minister [as heard]. This will ensue if Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak does not reverse the decision last week on the dismissal of Deputy Finance Minister Stefan Kawalec. Stanislaw Wolny said that the decision by Marek Borowski is all but 100 percent certain. The resignation is to be presented to the prime minister most probably on Friday, after Waldemar Pawlak's return from Brussels. This news was commented as follows by spokesman of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Zbigniew Siemiatkowski:

[Begin Siemiatkowski recording] The resignation of Marek Borowski was never considered. I can say more, Mr. Borowski is a sufficiently responsible politician to be fully aware of the fact that, first, he must continue that which he has undertaken. Second, he was designated by the SLD to fulfill this very important function and so he must be aware of the fact that only the adoption of the budget can lead to the political stabilization of the parliament, the Sejm, and the coalition. And these are matters far more important than even the very important considerations that have caused the crisis between Deputy Prime Minister Borowski and the prime minister. Really, all the issues that led to the crisis will be resolved only after the return of Aleksander Kwasniewski, who is in Brussels at the moment. Most probably he has already had the opportunity to meet the prime minister and clarify the issues that led to the sparks, the sparks along the government axis. Although this is not yet a matter that would have the character of a coalition crisis, this is a certain misunderstanding that we would wish to have resolved among the interested parties.

Foreign Ministry Rejects Moldovan Referendum

AU0202204994 Paris AFP in English 2040 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Feb 2 (AFP)—A referendum of voters in the former Soviet republic of Moldova on whether they want the country to merge with Romania has no more value than an opinion poll, the Romanian Foreign Ministry said Wednesday [2 February].

The Moldovan Supreme Soviet at the weekend approved a referendum question asking Moldovans if they wanted their country to be "an independent, integral state or to unite or reunite with another country," meaning Romania.

But Foreign Ministry spokesman Mircea Geoana said here that for the referendum to be valid, all Romanians should be consulted. [passage omitted]

At the other end of the spectrum, Russian nationalists in the self-proclaimed Dniester republic in eastern Moldova, who have been fighting to take their territory into Russia, have called for a boycott of the referendum.

Owen, Stoltenberg Arrive for Talks

AU0302121094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the peace conference on former Yugoslavia, had a meeting with Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu in Bucharest this morning. At the end of the talks, the head of Romanian diplomacy said:

[Begin Melescanu recording] It was a discussion whereby Lord Owen and Mr. Stoltenberg briefed us on the results of the Geneva talks on the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We had a discussion on the prospects for a peaceful solution of this conflict. Of course, the two mediators also expressed the desire to discover the opinions, views, and suggestions of Romania and the Romanian Government on the continuation of the peace process. I believe that I can sum up the visit by describing it as an integral part of the efforts undertaken by the two mediators to examine the way in which the countries in this region, the countries neighboring the former Yugoslavia, can contribute to the progress of the peace process. [end recording]

In his statement, Lord Owen said that, at the beginning of the year, the explicit decision was made for the two cochairmen to pay visits to all the countries in the vicinity of former Yugoslavia, since there is a very strong imperative demand in the region to solve the conflict. Here is Lord Owen's answer to a question put to him by our radio station correspondent Doina Saiciuc regarding Romania's possible contribution to a resolution of the Yugoslav crisis:

[Begin Owen recording, in English with superimposed translation into Romanian] I believe that Romania has a considerable contribution to make. You have good relations with the countries in the region and the countries of former Yugoslavia. Obviously, this includes the relations with Hungary and Bulgaria, too, but not only with them. In a broader sense—I am now referring to the whole region—I know that there is a strong relationship between Romania and Turkey. You are feeling the economic consequences of the sanctions. These contacts with your foreign minister are not the first such contacts with Romania. I would like to introduce a dose of self-criticism here, since this is indeed my first visit to Romania. However, I have been in constant touch with Romania and I now believe that Romania's influence on this conflict should become more palpable. [end recording]

The two mediators in the Yugoslav crisis also had talks with Adrian Nastase, president of the Chamber of Deputies. At this time, they are meeting with President Ion Iliescu, our correspondents inform us.

PDSR, PUNR Sign Protocol on Coalition

AU0202130794 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Esteemed listeners, during the broadcasting of this newscast we received a communique from the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], phoned in by PUNR Vice President Ioan Gavra, which reads as follows:

A protocol on a political understanding between the Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] and the PUNR on setting up a coalition government was signed on 1 February in the evening. This openness achieved by the PUNR is the most important political moment in Romania life since the parliamentary elections of September 1992. Within the framework of this political partnership, the PDSR and the PUNR have established the scope of their cooperation at parliamentary, governmental, and territorial levels.

The assumption of the political responsibility of the government act by the PUNR will take concrete shape in the drafting of an anti- crisis and anti-inflationist governmental program capable of dynamizing the mechanisms of reform and privatization and of contributing to the efficient resolution of the people's social problems—the communique received by telephone from Mr. Ioan Gavra points out.

Contacted also by telephone, PDSR Executive President Adrian Nastase confirmed the signing of the protocol and said that it is the outcome of negotiations conducted on the evening of 31 January by the five parties of the parliamentary majority, namely the PDSR, PUNR, the Socialist Party of Labor, the Greater Romania Party, and the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania.

UDMR Official Comments on Iliescu Meeting

AU0202070594 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] President Ion Iliescu has been holding talks with representatives of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] at Cotroceni Palace this evening. At the end of more than three hours of talks, UDMR President Bela Marko was kind enough to answer several questions from journalists. First, he referred to a list of documents presented by the UDMR to the president.

[Marko] "This list actually contains a number of older UDMR documents as well as several more recent documents, including a draft bill on national minorities and autonomous communities worked out by the UDMR and already submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. Consequently, I actually put forth the idea that this package of documents, this list, contains all the more important problems of the minorities in Romania and of the Hungarian minority in Romania; on the other hand, in addition to problems, it also offers solutions to these problems, through the draft bill, that is, solutions to a number of concrete issues.

"Of course, the package presented to the president also includes our position regarding the recommendations of the Council of Europe, since the majority of these recommendations coincide with the problems raised in the UDMR memorandum, namely, the problem of the law on education—or rather the problem of the chapter of that draft bill on education dealing with instruction in the language of the minorities, which has not yet been discussed or approved by the Education Commission of the Chamber of Deputies—the problem of the law on minorities, the problem of church assets and religious schools, as well as other concrete problems that could have been solved without too much delay, such as the situation of the people imprisoned in the wake of the December 1989 events in Harghita County and of the events of March 1990 in Targu Mures; despite the promises of the representatives of the government and of the institutions of the executive power in Romania, these problems have not yet been solved."

[Announcer] Bela Marko was asked about President Ion Iliescu's reaction to the UDMR's proposals:

[Marko] "I must point out that we have very different positions on a number of major problems. At the same time, we conducted a rather thorough dialogue on all the problems raised today and we reached the conclusion that the presidency will examine the list of documents presented by us, with the promise that conclusions will be drawn on these matters. However, I would like to emphasize that our positions are very different on the majority of the problems discussed."

[Announcer] The UDMR president was asked by journalists to elaborate on the aide memoire sent by the UDMR to the Council of Europe.

[Marko] "The aide memoire assesses the current situation, since four months have elapsed since Romania's admission to the Council of Europe and, despite the fact that the Council's people will check on Romania's compliance with these criteria within six months, for the time being we note that no progress has been made in the past four months in terms of complying with those criteria."

Train Engineers Union Suspends Strike Plans

AU0302121994 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] The Federation of Free and Independent Trade Unions of Engine Drivers of Romania has sent us a communique that emphasizes that following a meeting of the Coordination Council of the National Trade Union Bloc [BNS] on 1 February, it has decided to suspend the one-day strike on 4 February as well as the general strike on 16 February 1994.

The Federation of Free and Independent Trade Unions of Engine Drivers of Romania, a member of the BNS, announces that it will abide by this decision and will not go on strike on those dates. During a meeting of the National Steering Council on 8 February, the federation's strategy for the coming period will be voted on, the communique also points out.

British Convoy To Break Blockade of UN Forces

AU0302124594 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 3 (AFP)—A convoy of British armoured military troop transporters headed Thursday to break a Bosnian Serb blockade west of Sarajevo with instructions to use force if necessary.

The force of four or five vehicles will negotiate first, and "use force if necessary," if Bosnian Serb forces did not lift a two-day blockade of UN forces using a key route between Sarajevo and central Bosnia, said UN spokesman Major Jose Labandeira.

All tracked UN vehicles have been prevented from passing the blockade at Kobiljaca, around 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of the Bosnian capital.

The blockade contravenes a Geneva agreement reached on November 18 guaranteeing free movement of UN peacekeeping forces, said Labandeira. The military leadership of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces in Bosnia was "determined" to exercise the right of free movement, he added.

A British officer was shot in the shoulder Wednesday as he patrolled in an unprotected vehicle on the "Diamond Route" in central Bosnia. The officer, whose life was not in danger, was evacuated from the British military base at Vitez. Gunfire came from Bosnian Croat positions.

British troops in an armoured "Warrior" armoured personnel carrier fired shots over the heads of a crowd which tried to ransack lorries carrying aid at Opara, on the "Diamond Route" between Novi Travnik and Gornji Vakuf in central Bosnia, the spokesman added. The crowd dispersed after a few shots were fired.

Relative calm in Sarajevo on Wednesday was broken overnight by a bombardment with 395 incoming shells, while 24 shells were fired from the city, UN forces said.

A French sentry at the Skenderija base, south of Sarajevo, came under sniper fire but was not injured, the spokesman said. The sniper fire was not returned, he added.

UNPROFOR Reportedly Covered Muslim Moves

94P20311A Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 94 p 4

[Unattributed article: "'Blue Helmets' Protect 'Lilies'"]

[Text] Certain individuals without proper military uniforms are appearing on the roads in the area around Kalesije together with UNPROFOR personnel. The Serbian military consider this an unauthorized interpretation of the UN peace forces' mandate.

According to information obtained by TANJUG from highest-level military sources of the republic of Srpska, the Serbian side has gathered considerable evidence to conclude that these individuals are Muslim soldiers involved in reconnaissance of Serbian units' positions under the protection of UNPROFOR personnel.

"During the reconnaissance" the weapons of the "Blue Helmets" are turned toward the Serbian positions, though this is not supposed to happen.

The military of the republic of Srpska point out that UNPROFOR's mandate is not to establish peace, but only to provide security for the humanitarian aid convoys on land. This excludes any armed reconnaissance.

The Serbian side points at the fact that UNPROFOR has started building a watchtower north of Kalesija on Muslim-controlled territory, though they have no right to do so.

The Serbian military warns that the Serbian side will destroy the tower if the construction does not stop. Reacting to all the events taking place in the Kalesija region, the Serbian side has issued a strict warning demanding that the UNPROFOR command observe the mandate of the peace forces in the former Bosnia and Herzegovina to the letter.

'Muslim Terror' of Serb, Croat Civilians

LD0302152194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Excerpts] Zvornik, Bratunac, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—According to the latest reports, the level of Serb suffering in Muslim-held areas is growing and Croats are also being persecuted with increasing frequency, TANJUG has learned from sources close to the Srpska republic army.

According to the same source, many previous reports are now being confirmed by the Croat side in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The latest example is the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] report on Muslim terror against Serbs and Croats in Tarcin. According to the reports many Serbs and Croats have been imprisoned in Tarcin for a long time and all other Serbs and Croats from the area have been forced to join work details of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army. They have been transferred to Zabrdje near Kiseljak where they have been forced to dig fortifications for the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army. According to Croatian sources Muslim forces in the area plan to use the imprisoned Serbs and Croats as a human shield in attempts to recapture certain positions seized by the HVO.

According to the latest refugee accounts the position of around 100 Serb families remaining in Zavidovici is extremely difficult, Srpska republic army sources said. [passage omitted]

Serbs remaining in Zavidovici area are threatened with death on a massive scale if international, particularly humanitarian, organizations do not intervene urgently on their behalf, sources close to the Srpska republic army warned.

Karadzic Skeptical of Results of Geneva Talks

LD0202181794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, said in Belgrade today that one-sided support for the Muslims by some international circles and leading countries is making peace prospects in Bosnia more distant.

At a roundtable—"A TANJUG guest"—Karadzic expressed doubt that the negotiations on Bosnia, due to take place in Geneva on 10 February, can produce any result due to a lack of political will to influence the Muslims to accept a peaceful solution.

According to him, Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic will, as he has done so far, act "as his sponsors say."

"It is therefore to be expected that the Muslim parliament, at a session due to take place in Sarajevo on 7 February, will adopt a platform unacceptable to both the Serbs and the Croats, or at least to the Serbs, in order to make sure that the war continues," Karadzic said.

He explained that the Muslim ambition to achieve domination in Bosnia and their obligation to secure the whole of Bosnia for Islamic interests in Europe caused the war and is the reason for its continuation.

He added that "the United States has said that the Muslims have the right to try to achieve their objectives by military means" and that this is the first time they said they will recognize the results of the armed struggle. "We, the Serbs, have nothing against this, provided the same standard is applied to us," Karadzic said.

He recalled that the Serbs have made huge concessions in exchange for an urgent peace and lifting of sanctions and added that, if the concessions do not result in peace and a solution, they will be withdrawn.

Karadzic underlined that the Serb side will continue to make any future agreement on Bosnia conditional on the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Serbs Shelling Tuzla Airport

AU0202163694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 94

[The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 2d Corps Press center report from Zivinice]

[Text] The heavy shelling, helicopter flights, and attacks on the defense lines are the basic features of the [Serb] aggressor's activities in the operational zone of the 6th Operative Group Zivinice.

Dozens of shells were again fired at Zivinice today. The prevailing view here is that the aggressor has decided to intensify combat operations so as to endanger the safe use of the nearby Dubrave Airport for humanitarian flights. It is well known that the United Nations are determined to open this airport soon, and it is also well known that the aggressor's side is rejecting this.

The general alarm in Zivinice has already been sounded three times today owing to the shelling.

Serbs Firing at UNPROFOR

AU0202192294 Paris AFP in English 1849 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Article by Michel Mounot]

[Excerpts] Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Feb 2 (AFP)—From their lookout high above this besieged Muslim enclave, the 12 Swedish peacekeepers of the Tango 2 observation post scan the horizon for Serb guns, able only to count the shots, even when they are the targets.

From their post, located 15 kilometres (nine miles) from the airport of this major northern Bosnian town—which the United Nations plans to reopen, by force if necessary—the Swedes were able to determine the exact position of Serb artillery which shelled the airport and the nearby NORDBAT 2 Scandinavian battalion base Tuesday [1 February].

Seated high in his sandbag bunker, in front of an enormous pair of binoculars, Private Fredrik Thorgren, 26, explained Wednesday what the peacekeepers witnessed.

"Yesterday, we saw shooting behind this hill, near Boroguvo. We didn't see the detonations," he said. "There were speculations that it was near the base. One hour later we heard on the radio that it landed on the airport and 100 metres (yards) from the camp."

Serb artillery controls access to the Tuzla airport from three different positions, with several hundred artillery pieces at its disposal.

Tuesday afternoon, nine shells fell on the airport zone, including one within one kilometre of the main runway. There were no casualties.

"The nearest Serb position from the airport is 10 kilometres (six miles), so they could shoot with guns, mortars or tanks," said Tango 2 platoon leader Lieutenant Jan Almgard, 28. [passage omitted]

"A grenade landed on the roof. The Serbs are aiming at us, it's obvious. We have a blue flag with a light on it, it can't be a mistake," Almgard said, pointing out the blown-away tiles on their UN-leased villa. "The soldier on duty at the binoculars had time only to jump down. It's a miracle we had no casualties." [passage omitted]

"The problem is that the Serbs here think that we fight with the Bosnian Army and that we're part of their defence system," explained Almgard. "We tried to establish a radio link with them but they refuse to use it." [passage omitted]

Serbs Set Conditions

AU0302135459 Paris AFP in English 1519 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 3 (AFP)—Serb forces would agree to the reopening of the airport at Tuzla in northeast

Bosnia provided they could control all traffic going through, a Yugoslav military official was quoted as saying Thursday [3 February].

Armed Forces spokesman Colonel Ljubodrag Stojadinovic, in remarks quoted by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, added that if Serb observers were not present, "the airport could be used as a channel for arms deliveries to Moslems." He welcomed Russia's proposal to send observers to the airport but added that "the presence of Serb observers" was "vital."

It appeared unlikely the Moslems would agree to such conditions, observers said. It also seemed surprising that the rump Yugoslavia's army should announce the Bosnian Serbs' conditions on reopening the airport. Although Serbia openly backs Bosnia's Serbs, it does not officially have authority over them. Until now, Bosnian Serbs have steadfastly refused to yield on the airport issue.

Their leader Radovan Karadzic said Tuesday [1 February] it was up to the Bosnian Serb "parliament" to decide what to do on the issue.

While Tuzla itself is controlled by Moslems, the airport zone is within firing distance of Serb forces, whose positions are a few kilometers ((miles)) from the town.

The United Nations is considering authorising air strikes against besieging Serb forces to obtain the reopening of Tuzla, which is considered an essential channel for humanitarian aid.

Muslim-Croat Negotiations on Mostar Collapse

LD0202144294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Bileca, 2 February (TANJUG)—Smail Klunic, the chairman of the war presidency of the eastern part of Mostar, has informed the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander in former Yugoslavia, General Jean Cot, about the collapse of Muslim-Croat negotiations on Mostar.

Negotiations on European Union's proposal to proclaim Mostar an open city under the protectorate of one of the European states lasted for several days in the UNPROFOR base in Medjugorje, and they were attended by Owen and Stoltenberg's special envoys.

Klunic informed General Cot yesterday that the delegation of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] demanded that Mostar be the capital of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna affirming that the European Union protectorate only be in the part of the city currently controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina army.

The Muslims could not accept this Croat proposal and the negotiations broke down, Klunic informed Gen. Cot.

SDA Protests Arrests of Sandzak Muslims

AU0202221194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Concerning the latest arrests of the leaders of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] in Sandzak by the Serbian and Montenegrin police, we express our strongest condemnation and protest, reads a statement by the SDA of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Using the pretense of armed rebellion and endangering the territorial integrity of the self-styled Yugoslavia, the authorities of this unrecognized country have been terrorizing and persecuting Muslims in an unprecedented way, particularly prominent people and members of the SDA. This fascist state has been conducting ethnic cleansing for a long time now in an attempt to force the members of other nations to emigrate, and thus create a pure national state for the Serbian people alone.

We appeal to the relevant international institutions to send their representatives to Serbia and Montenegro, and to undertake every possible action to halt this criminal persecution, and ensure the observance of civil freedom and rights—in accordance with standards of international law—for all the nations on the territory of the so-called Yugoslavia.

This was said in a statement by the SDA of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bhutto, Ciller Meet With Izetbegovic, Silajdzic

BK0202153294 Islamabad PTV Television Network in English 1400 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Prime Minister Ms. Benazir Bhutto and her Turkish counterpart Madam Tansu Ciller flew into Sarajevo on an epoch-making visit to express solidarity with the Bosnian people struggling for the defense and the independence and territorial integrity of their country. At the airport of the war-ravaged Sarajevo, the two prime ministers were greeted by the commander of the United Nations Protection Forces, Lieutenant General Michael (Rose). PTV correspondent Qamar Mahiuddin reports from Sarajevo that the Bosnian leaders could not reach the airport to receive the two leaders as the area around the airport is under Serbian control. From the airport, the two prime ministers of the Muslim world drove straight to the presidential palace where Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Madam Tansu Ciller were welcomed by the Bosnian prime minister Haris Silajdzic.

Later, the two prime ministers called on President Alija Izetbegovic who briefed them on the situation in his country subjected to wanton and diastardly Serbian aggression. The two prime ministers expressed solidarity with President Alija Izetbegovic and the people of the republic who have been victims of genocidal aggression and ethnic cleansing. The Bosnian president expressed gratitude on his behalf and on the people of Bosnia for having demonstrated the unprecedented gesture of solidarity with them in their hour of trial and tribulation.

Our correspondent understands that during the talks it was agreed that the world community must take effective measures to stop Serbian aggression and the United Nations resolution on Bosnia must be implemented. The need for immediate lifting of arms embargo was also emphasized. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto also informed the Bosnian president that a contingent of the Pakistan Army is ready to join the United Nations Protection Force in the war-ravaged Bosnia-Herzegovina.

During their short stay, the two prime ministers also visited Kosevo Hospital in Sarajevo to sympathize with the victims of Serbian aggression. During their hour-long visit, Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Madam Tansu Ciller went round various wards of the hospital. The two prime ministers were visibly moved to see the innocent people which included old, young and children injured and maimed in the holocaust unleashed by marauding Serbians. Our correspondent says Kosevo Hospital has also been a target of hand grenade attacks 193 times during the last 22 months. As in other hospitals, supplies of medicines in this hospital have become scarce and even water supply remains cut off because of continuing siege of Sarajevo by Serbian forces.

Pakistan and Turkey have called upon the United Nations Security Council to ensure implementation of all its resolutions and lift the unjust embargo against Bosnia with a view to ensuring a halt to the destruction of the republic. The call was made in a joint declaration issued at the conclusion of the most courageous and historic visit to Sarajevo by the prime minister, Benazir Bhutto, and Prime Minister Tansu Ciller of Turkey.

The two leaders said in the joint declaration that Bosnia must not be forced to negotiate at gun point. We will resist any imposed settlement which rewards the aggressor and legitimizes the fruits of aggression. Ethnic cleansing cannot and should not be the basis of statehood.

The joint declaration said it is shocking that this appalling human tragedy is being enacted in the heart of a continent which prides itself on its commitment to human rights and respect for human dignity. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Madam Tansu Ciller said it is unacceptable that in this era in which the principles of the United Nations Charter are recognized as having universal validity, a sovereign independent state is being violently dismembered along racial lines and genocide perpetrated against the peaceful and enlightened people. They saluted the heroism of the people of Bosnia and supported their just struggle for their national survival and said we fully endorse their resolve to preserve the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of their motherland.

About the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the two leaders said rarely in the annals of human history have a nation been subjected to such merciless savagery in the full view of the world. They called for an immediate and strict implementation of a total cease-fire and cessation of hostility so that negotiations can be resumed and huge relief operation ensured.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Tansu Ciller said the situation on Bosnia-Herzegovina is a universal tragedy. The degradation of the human person as practiced in Bosnia is of concern to the entire human race. We know this beleaguered but great city deeply outraged at the injustices being done to its citizens, but in fullest admiration and solidarity for the resolve to reject an unjust dispensation.

Earlier, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto arrived in Croatian capital Zagreb today. She was received by Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic, the deputy prime minister and the foreign minister and the UN special representative. The prime minister was accompanied by Foreign Minister Sardar Asif Ahmad Ali, Interior Minister Major, retired, Nasirullah Khan Babar and the foreign secretary. Later, Ms. Benazir Bhutto had a meeting with the prime minister of Turkey, Madam Tansu Ciller, who also arrived in Zagreb to accompany her to Sarajevo. The Pakistani and the Turkish prime ministers later renewed call to stop the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Begin recording] [Bhutto] the prime minister of Turkey and I are both going to Sarajevo, less as prime ministers and more as mothers, to focus the attention of the world on the plight of the people of Bosnia and to give a renewed call for the end of fighting. It is tragic to see that in the heart of Europe so many of the principles upon which peace and stability in the world are based are being violated. The UN Charter enshrines the territorial integrity and sovereignty of nations. But here the territorial integrity is being violated. It is very important that the Croatians and the Bosnians also coordinate closely together to permit redrawing of borders.

[Ciller] We should try to make sure that the approach of Europe and the definition of Europe is defended, that the values of Europe should be defended, and we should do that together and there is no discrimination as to who does this. The value is that we should be defending the multinational, the multiculture, multireligion entity of living together. This is what Europe has been all about. [end recording]

News Conference Reported

AU0202163994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Report by Enes Musabasic on the news conference by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic, Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Sarajevo on 2 February; Ciller and Bhutto statements are in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Musabasic] After a welcoming ceremony with the highest state honors in front of the Bosnia-Herzegovina

Presidency building, Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller and Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and their associates were greeted by Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin was also with the Turkish delegation, while his counterpart Ahmad Sardar Asif Ali was with the Pakistani delegation.

The esteemed guests then held talks first with Presidency President Izetbegovic and then with Prime Minister Silajdzic. After the talks, decrees on friendship and cooperation were signed in front of a number of reporters. The decree on friendship and cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey was signed by Prime Ministers Silajdzic and Ciller, and between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Pakistan by Silajdzic and Bhutto.

After the signing ceremony, Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic made the following statement:

[Izetbegovic] It is a great honor and pleasure for me to have had a chance to welcome to Sarajevo Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller. Our two esteemed guests come from countries friendly toward us, countries that base their relations with other countries and the world on the defense of the principles of the UN Charter, a dedication to human rights, and a respect for human dignity.

I would like to stress that our esteemed guests have been elected prime ministers in their countries through democratic elections, which is a fact that supports [words indistinct]. Therefore it is no coincidence that the two prime ministers are today guests of this besieged city, which symbolizes resistance and the heroic struggle of the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the political independence of our country. Our tragedy provides our true friends with an opportunity to to show in deed that they are friends, but also to unmask the hypocrisy of a number of countries that defend human rights in words only. In adopting resolutions and declarations, these countries [words indistinct] but a lack of any concrete action on their implementation has contributed to the continuation of the war, and to the deterioration of the situation in our country.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Bhutto and Mrs. Ciller for the unqualified support we have received from their governments and people in our struggle for a just peace. This country, which is a victim of two (fascist) [words indistinct]. The joint declaration of the two prime ministers—with which I have had a chance to acquaint myself—reiterates their readiness to extend, on a bilateral level, concrete material and other assistance to our struggle.

Finally, I would like to congratulate these brave women on their personal courage to come to Sarajevo despite warnings not to do so. Their visit and support are an encouragement to us to persevere in the struggle for the defense of our homeland, and therefore for all those principles on which the United Nations rest. This is also a incentive to all the defenders of democratic [word indistinct] in the world to intensify their efforts in the search for a just peace [words indistinct].

[Musabasic] The Turkish and Pakistani prime ministers also prepared a declaration on their visit to Sarajevo, and they addressed a few words to the reporters.

Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller said:

[Ciller] We are here primarily for humanitarian purposes. We believe that the Bosnians are fighting for freedom, territorial integrity, and human rights. We have always been concerned about human rights, regardless of where [word indistinct]. The basic right is the right to life. Thus our aim can serve as an appeal for the defense of human rights.

Second, we believe in territorial integrity, and we believe that territorial integrity always has to be defended. This is why we believe that the efforts by the European Commnity must be reassessed, and they must be complete. This is a humanitarian issue, and also a moral issue [word indistinct]. Civilians are being killed here. We have once again to draw the attention of the world community to the fact that this is a moral issue. We have always defended democracy and human rights, and territorial integrity. Now it is time to unite and defend the aims that we and the international community support.

It is an European idea, coexistence, coexistence among various religions, ethnic groups, and cultures, and we have to defend that. (That) is our treasure. This is the reason why we should defend that idea. The territorial integrity and coexistence in Sarajevo [words indistinct] but it has to be a just peace [words indistinct].

[Musabasic] Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto told the reporters that she did not want to reiterate the Sarajevo declaration, but she stated:

[Bhutto] We have signed this declaration less as prime ministers and more as mothers, daughters, and women, to express our solidarity with the suffering of the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to draw the attention of the world once again to this place where the people are suffering so. We have to do something to stop this human suffering. But it is not only a question of human suffering, it is also a question of the values on which the UN Charter is based, and upon which peace and stability in the world have been built.

Territorial integrity must be respected and aggression must not be rewarded. The international community has to act fast. First to stop the killing of innocent people, women, and children, and second, to protect the values that enable the world to live in peace. Territorial integrity must be defended, and aggression must not be rewarded if the world is to continue to live in peace.

Urge Lifting of Arms Embargo

AU0202180494 Paris AFP in English 1744 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Report by Helene Despic-Popovic: "Bhutto, Ciller Demand Justice for Bosnian Moslems"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Feb 2 (AFP)—Pakistani and Turkish Prime Ministers Benazir Bhutto and Tansu Ciller Wednesday [2 February] called for lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia and urged the govermment to reject any "unjust" negotiated settlement to the war.

In a joint declaration issued during their brief visit to the besieged Bosnian capital, the two Islamic heads of government said that "rarely has a nation been subjected to such merciless savagery in the full view of the world" as had Bosnia.

Stressing the humanitarian nature of their high-profile mission, Bhutto and Ciller called for the immediate lifting of the "unjust" international arms embargo, which "contravenes (Bosnia's) inherent right to self-defence."

With all-party peace talks on the future of Bosnia set to resume February 10 in Geneva amid signs of intensified military build-ups by all three sides on the ground, the two leaders denounced all attempts to impose a settlement on the mainly-Moslem Bosnian side.

"Bosnia must not be forced to negotiate at gunpoint," the statement said. "We will resist an imposed settlement which rewards the aggressor." [passage omitted]

Both women—the most senior politicians to visit Sarajevo since French President Francois Mitterrand in June 1992—also stressed they were opposed to a carve-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bhutto and Ciller, who were given the red-carpet treatment and a guard of honour on arrival at Sarajevo airport and for whose visit the UN Protection Force imposed tight security measures, called in their statement for an end to the siege of the capital.

They also called for the immediate lifting of all obstacles to the delivery of humanitarian aid, and the re-opening of Tuzla airport, northern Bosnia, which has been shelled by Bosnian Serb troops. [passage omitted]

The Bosnian premier was due to take the two leaders on a tour of the city's main Kosevo hospital. [passage omitted]

Izetbegovic said Tuesday his government would reject at fresh talks any settlement not offering the "just peace" which had so far not been forthcoming. [passage omitted]

Friendship Agreements Signed

BK0302025994 Islamabad Radio Pakistan Network in Urdu 0200 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Pakistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina have signed a friendship and cooperation agreement. The agreement was signed in Sarajevo yesterday by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and Haris Silajdzic, her Bosnian counterpart. A similar agreement was signed between Turkey and Bosnia.

Tudjman Receives Prime Ministers Bhutto, Ciller

LD0202220594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received [Turkish Prime Minister] Tansu Ciller and [Pakistani Prime Minister] Benazir Bhutto at the presidential palace this evening, the president's office said in a statement.

Both prime ministers told President Tudjman about their impressions after their short visit to Sarajevo and stressed the need to establish peace as soon as possible as well as mutual trust between the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Turkey and Pakistan will do their utmost for this to be achieved.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto particularly stressed that international borders are inviolable, ethnic cleansing impermissible, and that the situation must be reestablished as it was before the war.

Pakistan upholds Croatia's justified demand to have the [UN] protected zones reintegrated into its state and legal system. She also said that Bosnia-Herzegovina must preserve its multicultural and multiethnic character and that the fighting between the Croats and Bosnian Muslims should end, as she had also told [Bosnian] Prime Minister Silajdzic during their brief talks.

Turkish Prime Minister Ciller said Turkey is pressing for the urgent establishment of peace in the area, but that only a just solution can be accepted. Continued hostilities will mean that the longer they go on the more difficult it will be to reach a political agreement, and the foundations for the communal life of Bosnian Muslims and Croats will be seriously threatened.

At the end of their talks President Tudjman said that the Croats and Bosnian Muslims must reach agreement and he proposed that both [the Pakistani and the Turkish] prime ministers press for a summit of all interested countries with the aim of establishing peace, which Benazir Bhutto and Tansu Ciller accepted. Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller said her country is ready to host such talks, because the establishment of peace would be in the interest of the whole of Europe and the world. [passage omitted]

Bhutto Backs Air Strikes in Bosnia

AU0302081094 Paris AFP in English 2157 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Feb 2 (AFP)—Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto urged here late Wednesday [2 February] the use of NATO air strikes in Bosnia unless a rapid political solution to the war could be found.

Speaking here after visiting Sarajevo earlier in the day with her Turkish counterpart Tansu Ciller, the Islamic head of government said the United Nations should press for an "early negotiated political settlement" and, failing that, opt for air strikes.

The United States had already "made it clear that it is prepared to go ahead" with air strikes, but a lot depended on the stance of European countries and UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

She added: "If the UN Secretary General feels that he cannot reach a consensus for air strikes, the least that can be done is allow the arms embargo (on Bosnia) to be lifted, so that the people of Bosnia can defend themselves." [passage omitted]

News Conference; Sarajevo Communique

TA0302105794 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 2100 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Report by Yavuz Kocak from Zagreb]

[Excerpts] The prime ministers of Turkey and Pakistan held a joint news conference in Zagreb where they stopped over after their humanitarian visit to Sarajevo. Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller delivered the opening speech at the news conference where the foreign ministers of the respective countries also participated.

Ciller stated that they encountered a war for freedom during their visit, which was undertaken for humanitarian purposes. Ciller said: What the world should do is put Bosnia-Herzegovina back on the world map. We share the principles of the international community. Human rights is the most important value. Preventing terrorism and oppression is among the values we share. We should defend these values when and where the need arises. Calling for a tolerant approach to the religious and cultural unity of certain communities, Ciller called for the perpetuation of the values so that another Berlin Wall will not happen.

Indicating that peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina should be the joint goal of the whole world, Ciller appealed to international public opinion. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, a historical document— termed the Sarajevo Communique —concerning the joint Ciller-Bhutto visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina was issued. Noting that the visit was for humanitarian purposes, the communique says that rarely in the annals of human history has a nation been subjected to such a massacre while the whole world is watching.

The Sarajevo Communique further states: It is terrifying that such a terrible human tragedy is being played out in the heart of a continent that prides itself on its commitment to human rights. It is unacceptable that in this era, where the principles of the United Nations are universally recognized, a sovereign and independent state is being violently wiped out and its people—peace-loving and enlightened—massacred.

We are respectfully saluting the heroism shown by the people of Bosnia. We are supporting them in their just struggle toward the continuation of their national existence. We are supporting them all the way in their

determination to defend their territorial integrity, the sovereignty of their motherland, and their political independence.

The international disrespect shown in reaction to this aggression is horrifying. We appeal to the world community to halt the destruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The UN Security Council should make sure that all its resolutions are properly implemented. The embargo imposed on Bosnia-Herzegovina should be lifted. The embargo violates their most important international right—the right to self-defense.

Bosnia should not be coerced into [word indistinct] negotiations. We will stand against any initiative that supports aggression. Ethnic cleansing cannot be considered the basis for the emergence of a country. The conscientious efforts of the United Nations and other humanitarian organizations should not be belittled. We are appealing for an immediate lifting of all obstacles standing in the way of humanitarian aid for Bosnia-Herzegovina. For this reason, Tuzla Airport should be reopened. The blockade on Sarajevo and the region declared the security region should be lifted and the bombing of the civilian population should be stopped immediately. Apart from this, an all-out cease fire should be imposed and negotiations renewed.

Ciller and Bhutto made a courtesy call on Croatian President Franjo Tudjman. The Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic and other officials saw Ciller off in Zagreb. It is expected that Ciller will arrive in Turkey at midnight.

Solana Warns Valentic Over Troops in B-H

LD0302143694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Croatian Prime Minister Nikica Valentic today received Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister Javier Solana who said after the meeting that their talks related to the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Minister Solana stated that if the reports on the involvement of forces from the Republic of Croatia in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina proved true, the international community would have to examine that question with utmost seriousness.

Before returning to Madrid, the Spanish foreign minister will meet the UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi.

Canadian Troops Held by 'Drunken' Soldiers

AU0302123494 Paris AFP in English 1228 GMT 3 Feb 94

[Text] Zagreb, Feb 3 (AFP)—Drunken Croatian soldiers disarmed four Canadian UN troops and held them for an hour-and-a-half in a southern Croatian enclave until UN officials negotiated their release, a UN spokesman said Thursday.

The Canadian peacekeepers were on a patrol with two UN military observers—whose nationality was not specified—in the Medak region, which is under the protection of the UN Protection Force in former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR), when the incident took place Tuesday.

The Croatian soldiers confronted the six men and fired shots into the air to force them to surrender their weapons. They were then taken to a Croatian Army post and released only after negotiations between local Croatian military officials and the local UNPROFOR commanders, the UN source said.

A similar incident occured in the Medak pocket on January 5 when four Canadian UN troops were disarmed and detained for several hours by Croatian soldiers.

General Jean Cot, the French general who at the time was commander of UNPROFOR, protested to Zagreb authorities, calling the incident "outrageous."

Canada has a battalion of some 600 men in the region. They were deployed in Medak in September after the Croatian Army launched an offensive there, seizing three Serb vilages and, according to UNPROFOR reports, massacring several residents.

Chamber Issues Foreign Policy Conclusions

LD0202174794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpt] The Chamber of Deputies has adopted the following conclusions on Croatian foreign policy:

The Chamber of Deputies gives its support to the joint declaration signed by the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as a political means for achieving lasting peace.

The declaration is an important step toward mutual recognition of the two sovereign countries, and also paves the way for reaching a political solution and for unconditional re-integration of the UN-protected areas into the Republic of Croatia. The declaration will contribute toward normalizing relations between the two states and toward general stability in the whole of southeast Europe. An important step on the way is explicit recognition of all the states in their legitimate international borders.

The Chamber of Deputies called on Bosnian Muslims to unconditionally and promptly halt attacks on Croat-populated areas, in particular in central Bosnia. If they fail to do so, the chamber believes that the government and the president of the republic should examine the current state of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The deputies most strongly condemn all crimes and acts which are in breach of international law on warfare and humanitarian issues, and call on the president and

government to do their utmost in the diplomatic, political, humanitarian and all other fields to guarantee the survival and normal life of Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

All sides in the conflict were called upon to persist in their efforts to end the war through negotiation and political means and to reach a just and lasting solution acceptable to all three peoples. [passage omitted]

Granic Addresses Deputies on Foreign Policy

LD0202174494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Excerpts] The Chamber of Deputies of the Croatian Assembly wound up today's discussion on Croatia's foreign policy. Around 20 deputies as well as Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, took part. After a recess until 1600, the chamber is to vote on resolutions that a multiparty commission has proposed to the chamber. Kreso Zadravec and Jasenka Dudic have a report on the assembly's work so far: [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Addressing the deputies, Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, spoke about the strategic goals of Croatian foreign policy. Explaining the goals of the joint Yugoslav-Croatian declaration, he said that the present situation is untenable and a military option would cause casualties and the complete isolation of Croatia, which, as he said, we were clearly told. There is no compromising over our fundamental goals—reintegration and the return of refugees—which will be our guiding idea in the normalization of relations. Asked why Croatia was not recognized by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia before the signing of the declaration, Granic replied:

[Begin Granic recording] Of course, we demanded that in precise terms. However, as Milosevic was not ready for it at that time, we did not establish relations at the level of ambassadors, but at the level of offices, bureaus, refraining from forming judgements in advance. [end recording]

[Correspondent] He also dwelled on the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina where, as he said, Croat-Muslim relations ought to be permanently regulated for political, economic, and strategic reasons with the cessation of hostilities as a priority task.

He again denied allegations about the presence of Croatian troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He said that he had informed the Security Council about the fact that between 1,500 and 2,000 Croat volunteers of Bosnian origin are in Bosnia-Herzegovina, while at least 3,000 to 8,000 Muslim volunteers in Bosnia-Herzegovina come from Islamic countries.

Among other things, Minister Granic spoke about Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe and said that the admission was primarily blocked because of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. He supported [Serbian National Party Vice Chairman] Pejnovic's proposal that legitimate [as heard] Serbs from the assembly be included in the talks with international factors.

Text of Granic Address

LD0302090594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Address by Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, to the Chamber of Deputies in Zagreb on 2 February—recorded]

[Text] I wish to thank this esteemed chamber for giving me the opportunity to reply to many important questions and dilemmas—including moral ones. However, I refuse to take part in any ideological debates or folkloric manifestations. I will focus on certain issues of major importance, and I believe I will disclose some new information, because it happens that people sometimes jump to wrong conclusions due to a lack of accurate information.

Conducting foreign policy is governed by highly complex and multifaceted rules imposed by moral and ethical values and dilemmas, as well as by the necessity of reaching short- and long-term objectives with precisely defined and limited means, by outside rules, and the imperative of the times.

What is the basic objective of Croatia's foreign policy, its state policy? A modern, European, democratic Croatian state with respect for human rights, minority rights, and the rights of ethnic communities; a state that guarantees the highest European standards. A state ready to accept international supervision by the Council of Europe or the CSCE.

What are its strategic guidelines? First and foremost, the reintegration of the UNPA [UN Protected Areas] into the state and legal system of Croatia—this is the first strategic guideline. Then comes the resolution of the crisis, the war in Bosnia- Herzegovina, and the establishment of a just peace. There is the regulation of all disputed issues with our neighbors and joining European integrational processes—an agreement on associate membership in the European Union [EU], the joining of all European projects—and, last but certainly not least, global and regional security mechanisms. This includes regional security mechanisms that we have already proposed to the CSCE and, of course, Partnership for Peace—NATO's latest proposal; an extremely important proposal, especially for the future.

Most dilemmas and questions, a joint declaration—yes or no [as received]—concerned this first strategic guideline. The only real difference in fact lies in expectation. There are no other differences. I have not heard that anyone is satisfied with the present situation. We all agree about this. Of 295,000 Croats and non-Serb people in UNPAs and Pink Zones, almost all have been expelled. Except a few thousand elderly people. Ethnic cleansing is almost complete. There are still 7,800 people either missing or forcibly taken away. Respect for human rights is zero and practically beyond the control of the

Croatian authorities. We have an excellent resolution of the UN Security Council—871—but it is certain that no fundamental and definite progress can be expected from the present UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate.

I have also not heard many people say they were in favor of war. There are some deputies, however, who have taken this stand consistently. This is, of course, their right. I need to warn at this moment that this option would not only cause victims—and the generals are much better placed to speak about this—but also total and immediate isolation. Not just sanctions, but also total isolation. This is not guesswork, we were told this directly.

What is the third option? Only this, brave and full of challenge [as heard]. The last thing that can be said of us is that we are naive.

It is naive to expect that Milosevic will come to Zagreb and say that he is abandoning his policy. However, both the internal and external situation has made him willing to talk. The joint statement means only the first step, but the step that crosses the Rubicon. How far-reaching it is—time and results will tell.

We are not compromising our fundamental objectives: to reintegrate the UNPA zones, enable the return of refugees, and, prior to that, achieve an overall cease-fire and establish traffic links, all this in a consistent process. This will, of course, be our guiding light in the process of normalizing relations.

At the first meeting we agreed to form a joint commission for missing persons. I believe this is a step forward. Opening missions means, in any case, establishing good communication channels without drawing any premature conclusions on any other issues.

Questions have been raised, I think by Mr. Kovacevic, about why Croatia was not immediately referred to in its borders, as in Security Council Resolution 871. Of course, this is exactly what we demanded. But, since Milosevic was not willing to agree to that, we did not establish relations on the level of ambassadors but on the level of representative offices, refraining from making any premature judgement.

The other question was the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the establishment of peace. The second strategic objective of Croatian foreign policy is to reach a lasting resolution of Croatian-Muslim relations—for political, economic, and strategic reasons. All our friends are giving us advice to this effect.

Obviously, the first short-term objective is to halt all confrontation. It is neccessary to say something about the dynamism here. I will not go too far back into the past, only to the beginning of the war or the Serb aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We proposed two things, and they were even agreed on during the talks before the referendum [on the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina]: We proposed a united but decentralized Bosnia-Herzegovina and a military alliance. This was not accepted. On 12 July [1992] only the possibility of cooperation in border areas was accepted and it was on the basis of this agreement that certain, very limited, forces [of the Republic of Croatia] were brought to defend the Dubrovnik hinterland.

The Vance-Owen plan was accepted in the same spirit. But after six weeks of procrastination by the Bosnian-Muslim side it was rejected by the Serb side. Everything else is well known.

This was at the time when the United States was ready for military intervention. They did not get the support of the European Community and the Russian Federation. After that, the European Community proposal was discussed. The basic proposal was a union of three republics. What happened then? A joint declaration was signed by Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic on 14 September, as well as an additional agreement which envisaged a lasting solution for Croatian-Muslim relations. This agreement was not implemented, but certainly not through the fault of Croatia's state policy.

President Tudjman's proposal tabled at Petersberg in Bonn was primarily designed to halt the war and establish a lasting peace. It offered options for achieving this. The first option was a union of the three republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the talks that we have held, and I have witnessed all the events in the last two months, the main contentious issues were central Bosnia, Mostar, access to the sea, and, of course, the hydroelectric system. Little was achieved with the first contentious issue, central Bosnia, for what was being proposed was practically for the Croat Defence Council [HVO] to withdraw from Vitez and Busovaca.

And that is where things remained. Some progress had been achieved on the issue of the outlet to the sea and on the primarily industrial Mostar and the hydro-energetic system. Proposals were made for an immediate ceasefire and separation, military separation. It was proposed that forces of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croat Defence Council should exclusively face Serb positions. This proposal was not accepted. What happened then? As you can see, the rejection of the European Union's concept—which had previously been accepted—accusations about the Croatian Army's presence in Bosnia-Herzegovina are grave. 30,000 troops and 20,000 to be deployed additionally.

We informed the UN Security Council in our letter that there were 1,500 to 2,000 volunteers—some of them former Croatian Army officers and soldiers demobilized in Bosnia-Herzegovina. That is a realistic number. The chief of the Croatian Army General Staff, General Bobetko, is the best person to ask. However, it is certain that the number is much higher—figures vary from 3,000 to 6,000 and even 8,000. It is hard to tell—but there are definitely more volunteers from the Islamic countries.

There are curently at least five different approaches to the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem: The European Union

continues to stick to its proposal and wishes to exert pressure on all three sides; the United States differs in the sense that it does not wish to apply too much pressure on the Muslim side, they have said so publicly; the Russian Federation opposes any kind of military intervention; the Islamic countries advocating a single Bosnia-Herzegovina; and of course we must take into account what the other moral authorities in the world are saying, that the most important thing at this moment is to bring an end to the conflict and the suffering.

Our offer to the Muslim side is still open and we are prepared to talk immediately and anywhere about any rational proposal. The first thing is the end of these clashes, but without any preconditions. As far as Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina are concerned, it is well-known that about 200,000 to 210,000 have been expelled as a result of a Serb offensive and about 100,000 to 110,000 in central Bosnia as a result of a Muslim offensive—this means about 320,000.

One has to be sensitive to disquiet, and the interests in certain regions must be different. One must not put special emphasis on the differences but instead insist on unity.

As far as strategy, final strategy is concerned, in any case a cease-fire and the resumption of talks... [pauses] We have not moved forward from the EU proposal, no one from among the other international factors has any other concrete proposals. Talks are being conducted in Washington at present between the United States, France, Germany, and England. Russians are included in the talks. We shall see whether any concrete proposals will emerge. But as far as the cease-fire is concerned, there must be no dilemma—it is most important that agreement on the cease-fire be reached immediately.

As for the regulation of relations with our neighbors—Slovenia—most problems have stemmed from the break-up of former Yugoslavia. We hope that almost seven agreements, including a solution in principle for Krsko [nuclear plant], will be achieved by Monday, that we shall continue to work on the property and legal solutions and on a solution to the Ljubljana bank and resolve all these problems in a month or so. We also hope that intensive work will be carried out with the aim of defining the borders. A joint commission will meet for the first time on 15th February in Bled.

We also discussed Piran Bay. Our proposal for the demaraction line is well-known, but there were a number of very (?useful) suggestions regarding joint use which were welcome.

As far as Italy is concerned, I will go there tomorrow to meet Italian Foreign Minister Andretta, and I expect to be received by the Holy Father and Cardinal [name indistinct]. I will have an opportunity to convey President Tudjman's personal message to the Holy Father.

It is certain that the situation regarding the deaths of the three journalists in Mostar has made my visit more difficult, especially as far as the Italian public is concerned, because in the past two months Minister Andreatta had adopted very constructive stands during the last meetings in Geneva and Brussels.

Our aim is, naturally, to discuss all open questions and there is no doubt that Italy is not just one of the most important economic partners, but also an economic power. Italy has considerable influence within the EU and the settlement of all questions with Italy is one of our priority goals.

President Tudjman will visit Romania this month and Albania at the end of this month. As for European integration processes, the Council of Europe [word indistinct] with the EU are above all blocked because of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is the main reason.

We are cooperating closely. Over 70 different missions of the Council of Europe visited Croatia and our parliamentary delegation was very active and successful in the work [of Council of Europe] for which it was comended. I was present. However, the present situation—not to pursue the next step, which means the arrival of reporters in Croatia—is linked exclusively with the situation in and the settlement of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina [as heard]. Of course there are other objections, which is natural for a country developing its democratic system, but they are no longer that important.

As far as regional and global security mechanisms are concerned our proposal was accepted and it will be further discussed within the framework of the CSCE. All countries expected to become part of this should adhere to this regional security mechanism. This would be of great advantage for the Republic of Croatia because—if Serbia and Montenegro, the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], would like to be part of this system—they would have to reduce their military troops and equipment to the level determined by the regional security mechanism and additionally meet all other conditions in line with the democratic institutions of the system.

Croatia welcomed the Partnership for Peace initiative. We are preparing a report we shall send to NATO. But this is, of course, a long-term project and the issue of borders should be resolved beforehand.

We must also answer a number of other questions raised by Mr. Pejnovic. Legitimate Serbs were elected to the Croatian Assembly and Resolution 871 envisages that we should have talks with the local Serbs. As for the benefit of the talks with all international factors I agree with you that it is necessary to [word indistinct].

I will answer Paraga's question with a few words, it will be exclusively facts, nothing else. There are 261 persons in all of our diplomatic and consular offices. There are 36 embassies, five missions, and eight general consulates or consulates with an average of 5.3 percent of employed [as heard].

I can also tell you that Hungary has 90, Slovakia 79, Denmark 800 employed. Austria 800, Switzerland

2,000. [previous two sentences as heard] In no way have we exaggerated. The average income is 2,000, or in the case of a vice-consul 2,500 deutsche marks [DM]. A German consul earns about 9,000 DM. An ambassador earns about 5,100 DM. Anyone can get all the information if they want to.

As far as quality is concerned, we have some fortunate solutions, some less fortunate and few unfortunate solutions but as far as expert financial control it is total and this refers to all embassies.

It is necessary to say a few words about the present situation in conclusion.

The pressure over Bosnia-Herzegovina in the past 48 hours has been immense. This concerns the presence of the Croatian Army in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, this is part of the strategic plan of applying pressure on the Republic of Croatia. Things might become even worse—the Security Council will be in session on Friday [4th February], there might be a presidential statement to this effect, as well as a statement issued by the Council of Europe whose meeting on 7 and 8 February will be devoted to the same subject. This is the agreed form of pressure—everybody agrees in this respect.

It is certain at this moment that we all have to persevere in our adherence to some basic guidelines. I believe that we all agree that a ceasefire and the search for a lasting solution with the Muslims is the first of the strategic objectives, while the other strategic objective is to find a peaceful resolution, through negotiations—but bearing in mind our fundamental national interests—with the Serb side. Thank you.

Potential Effect of Sanctions Viewed

AU0302144894 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 94 p 2

[Commentary by Deana Knezevic: "Head of Out of the Sand"]

[Text] If there is still anyone who wants to argue that Croatia will not have sanctions imposed on it and that this is yet another round of pressure under way, then he should support this view by putting his name to it and then perhaps somebody might believe him. However, there are no such political statements, just as there is no objective assessment of the reasons and motives for the imposition of sanctions and of the consequences that such a move would cause for the citizens of Croatia.

The threat of sanctions has been swinging like a pendulum, at times very close, at times on the opposite side; however, the pendulum has never stopped swinging. If it was at its furthest when U.S. Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright announced sanctions in the event of direct Croatian involvement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then it started to move with seemingly marginal details such as the open participation of the deputies from the Croatian Parliament in HVO [Croatian Defense Council] formations. The deaths of three Italian journalists in Mostar had a great influence on international public opinion. The assessments by foreign observers about the activities of military formations in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been analyzed more thoroughly in the foreign than in the domestic press. The fact that the Croatian Foreign Ministry and even the foreign minister himself must all too often put right the results of foreign affairs blunders committed by other ministries, thus, taking away the time and credibility needed to interprete the essence of Croatia's interests and policy, itself indicates how this threat has been underestimated. Why was Dr. Mate Granic put in a situation in which he had to discuss the mobilization of the editor of [the satirical newspaper] FERAL TRIBUNE in the Council of Europe?

Regardless of the nature of Croatia's engagement in Bosnia- Herzegovina, it would pay to estimate what the sanctions would bring. The Serbian economy has been wrecked although it had many elements of resistance to sanctions that Croatia does not have. This was, primarily, the structure of the economy, in which the export sector is poorly represented. The agricultural population forms a considerable segment of the demographic structure of that country. Serbia did not need to care about the views of the West because it had the support on the other side, which for a long time permitted it to keep the borders to the east permeable for oil and other goods. Besides, when it started its conquests, it had considerably larger foreign currency reserves that Croatia has now.

In what state would the sanctions befall Croatia? In normal relations with the world, it is to Croatia's advantage that it has an open economy in which imports constitute over half the estimated GNP and exports slightly less than that. Left without foreign markets, it could not rely on its rural population. In the West it borders countries that could not compromise their own international position and reputation by violating sanctions. The economic disintegration that has taken place in Serbia would be considerably more rapid in Croatia.

Against all these points one should emphasize at least one infallible argument for which sanctions are worth the risk. Even if it is true that the Croatian side bears no guilt and the sanctions are merely an excuse for the West to distance itself from the Balkan crisis, it would pay to avoid even the slightest motives. Namely, if we are exposed to all this risk because of the sheer desire to help the Croatian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then the situation is truly absurd: Croatia under sanctions could not even help itself!

Krajina's Jarcevic Demands Concessions

AU0202144394 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 94 p 10

[Article by B. Gulan: "We Will Open the Roads, Providing Certain Concessions Are Made"]

[Text] At the start of the normalization of relations between Yugoslavia and Croatia, the possibility arises of

initiating the process of dealing with the Krajina-Croat problems that need to be solved. Namely, Croatia and the republic of Serbian Krajina have things to discuss, but only peacefully and with mutual respect. The opening of a Croat office in Belgrade and a Yugoslav one in Zagreb can only help and speed things up, says Slobodan Jarcevic, interior minister in the government of the republic of Serbian Krajina.

I believe that the republic of Serbian Krajina was not discussed when the agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Croatia was signed. Perhaps Croatia is hoping that Yugoslavia will help it to reintegrate the republic of Serbian Krajina into the Croatian borders as defined by AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia], but that is just an illusion. This is the fifth year that the republic of Serbian Krajina has not been a part of Croatia, and that must be accepted. Relations between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia will depend solely on Croatia's readiness to recognize our state, stressed Slobodan Jarcevic.

The agreement between Yugoslavia and Croatia pertains only to those areas that are under Croatian control and that are not controversial. The peace process means the end of combat activity on the borders of the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia. There can be no discussion abut the republic of Serbian Krajina's territories without the legitimate representatives of the republic of Serbian Krajina, says Jarcevic. Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are two sovereign states and, as such, they can sign agreements. The republic of Serbian Krajina never conditioned Yugoslavia's position toward Croatia. However, a similar agreement between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia cannot be expected, because this would mean that Croatia has recognized the republic of Serbian Krajina. And it will most certainly not be the one to do so first. On the contrary. At the moment, no one wishes to sign a similar agreement with us, because both the Croatian and Muslim sides in Bosnia—with which we share borders—are adhering to the conclusions of the international community according to which our right to statehood has not been recognized.

One of the important elements of the Yugoslav-Croatian agreement is certainly the anticipated opening of roads, that is, the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, a part of which runs through the republic of Serbian Krajina's territory. According to Slobodan Jarcevic, it will be possible to open the highway if Croatia is willing to make certain concessions to the republic of Serbian Krajina.

We primarily have in mind the transit route to Hungary through Western Slavonia. All passengers travelling through the republic of Serbian Krajina will be subject to our laws. We shall have border crossings like any other state. For allowing the Croatian railroad to run through Knin, we shall demand to be allowed to use of one of the ports on the Croatian coast. Or, for example, we can solve the problem of supplying Zadar with water from the Zrmanja River, but in return, the Croat side has to enable the production of electric power at the Obrovac hydro-electric power plant, says Jarcevic.

Even before the war, some vital parts of the generator were dismantled and taken to Karlovac. The Krajina authorities understand the Croats' problems in trying to establish a traffic route connecting the north and the south, but we will demand a port in return for allowing the passage of trains from Zagreb to Split. Similar standards will be applied in the case of the highway, the oil pipeline, and telecommunications. We understand them, but we are also protecting our interests, which are unavoidable in a state whose existence has entered its fifth calendar year, stressed Slobodan Jarcevic.

Poll Shows Tudjman's Popularity Rising

AU0202181094

[Editorial Report] Zagreb GLOBUS in Serbo-Croatian on 28 January on pages 2 and 9 carries an approximately 3,500-word report on the results of GLOBUS' "big" poll on the popularity of Croatian politicians and political parties. The report, entitled "Although More Than 90 Percent of Croats Are Dissatisfied, President Tudjman's Popularity Is Rising," does not contain any information on how the poll was conducted. The only information concerning the size of the sample is that "2,120 citizens were approached" and that "more than 1,100 did not refuse to answer the questions."

The results of the poll's question on the popularity of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Drazen Budisa, leader of the main opposition party, the Croatian Social Liberal Party (HSLS), are expressed in percentages and show the following:

	28 Jul 93	16 Nov 93	21 Dec 93	21 Jan 94
Tudjman	49.9	46.1	47	49.1
Budisa	29.2	27.5	26.8	20.9

Regarding the popularity of the ruling Croatian Democratic Community and the HSLS, the results show the following:

	28 Jul 93	16 Nov 93	21 Dec 93	21 Jan 94
HDZ	29.1	33.5	43.8	36.6
HSLS	38.8	36.9	31.8	30.6

The respondents' answers to the question "What, in your view, is the mood among the citizens of the Republic of Croatia" reveal the following:

They are dissatisfied	54.5
They are very dissatisfied	38.9
They are satisfied	6
They are very satisfied	0.6

The respondents' answers to the question "How would you assess your standard of living under the current circumstances in our society" show the following:

Average	37.5
Slightly lower than average	22.8
Considerably lower than average	28.3
Slightly higher than average	6.5
Considerably higher than average	1.8
Do not know	3.1

According to the report, out of the 2,120 citizens who were asked the question "Who would you elect as president of the republic," 618 respondents said they did not know, 170 did not want to answer the question, and 326 said they would not take part in the elections. The results of the remaining 1,006 respondents show the following:

	21 Dec 93	21 Jan 94
Tudjman	47	49.1
Budisa	26.8	20.9
Others	8.3	10.1
Kucar	4.5	5.4
Tomac	2.2	3.7
Kramaric	1.2	3.5
Djapic	2	2.7
Pankretic	2.3	2.4
Paraga	2.8	2.2
Valentic	1.5	-
Racan	1.4	-

According to the report, out of the 2,120 citizens who were asked the question "Which party would you vote for at the elections," 598 respondents said they "did not know," 180 did not want to answer the question, and 326 said they would not take part in the elections. The results of the remaining 1,016 respondents show the following:

	21 Dec 93	21 Jan 94
HDZ	43.8	36.6
HSLS	31.8	30.6
HSS	6.8	8.8
HSP	5.8	6.8
Other parties	3.5	3.1
HNS	3.4	5.9
SDP	3.3	3.7
IDS	1.6	4.5

The report also contains a table of the "reasons for citizens' dissatisfaction." The results are as follows:

	Yes	No	Do not know
—Fall in standard of living	about 81	13.2	4.9
—Occupation of one quarter of the country's territory	about 79	14.8	6.9
—Crime and immoral behavior of politicians	about 71	20.8	8.7
—Economic situation	about 56	28	16
—Leadership's lack of ability	about 49	30.6	20.9

Zhirinovskiy Views Future of Balkans

AU0202132694 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 2 Feb 94 p 22

[Interview with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, by Ali H. Zerdin in Bled; date not given: "You Will Polish the Boots of German and British Officers"]

[Text] [Zerdin] Are you satisfied with the visit to Slovenia?

[Zhirinovskiy] I am. Everything has been in order, peaceful, clean, cultured. The service in the hotel has been good.

[Zerdin] Are you satisfied with the meetings with the representatives of the Slovene parties?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, we have agreed on cooperation. We signed a joint statement with the Slovene National Party and I have invited them all to the congress of my party on 2 April. Everybody liked this. Generally speaking, you do not have many problems here. For example, the Trieste area used to be controversial, namely, whether Trieste would go to Yugoslavia or to Italy. There were no other conflicts. However, conflicts must be resolved in a peaceful manner, and once they are over, the Slavs will only smile at our conflicts in the past. The problems must be resolved so that Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia will be more compact.

[Zerdin] Compact?

[Zhirinovskiy] Yes, compact and not in pieces. If there will Bosnia-Herzegovinas and Montenegros then there will be endless quarrels and wars there. There should only be three parts: Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia, full stop. And Bulgaria. All foreign armies should leave Yugoslavia.

[Zerdin] What about the Muslims?

[Zhirinovskiy] There is no Muslim question. Historically speaking, the Muslims are ethnic Croats and Serbs. This is a complex region, anyway. However, this was also the case in France. There used to be the Normans, the Gaelic, and the Bretons there.... And France, which is a peaceful country nowadays, has emerged from all this. This could have also been the case with you, the South Slavs who have had Yugoslavia, but it did not work out. If this must be so then let it be only three parts there: Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia. And not eight pieces. Such a quantity cannot ensure quality. If there are eight countries, there will be wars.

[Zerdin] What about Macedonia?

[Zhirinovskiy] Macedonia? That is Bulgaria. Actually, the Turkish Thrace, Romanian Dobrogea, Bulgaria, and Macedonia are a sort of unity.

[Zerdin] So what should this be, Macedonia or Bulgaria?

[Zhirinovskiy] Instead of Bulgaria, it should be named Macedonia. This would be more fair. Serbia should get the Serbian part of the present Macedonia, but otherwise this would be a big country. Alexander the Great, who conquered all of Asia Minor and got all the way to India, was from this area.

[Zerdin] What about Russia?

[Zhirinovskiy] See, what is Ukraine? It is Russia.

[Zerdin] And Czechia and Slovakia?

[Zhirinovskiy] Because of the Sudetenland and Moravia, the Czechs are closer to the Germans. Practically speaking, Czechia has no future. Germany will gradually take it over. Bratislava, however, could turn into a center for East European Slavic cooperation. This would be a counterbalance to the West European alliance. Bratislava could be something similar to what Strasbourg and Maastricht are for the Western Europe. Economically, the Slavs could have been stronger than Western Europe. However, they would have to act without ideologies. The entire Western Europe is infected with fascism: Spain, Italy, Greece, Germany. Eastern Europe used to be ailing from communism. Now there is a threat of nationalism. There is killing again and there are wars. This must be stopped. In the 21th century, the arms will speak for the last time against those who will be against democracy. This will be a religious war against the Muslim world. Well, it is already happening. For this reason, I have also written the book—the Last Push to the South.

At the end of the 20th century, there will be no more international wars, however, religious wars will begin. You see, Turkey toward the Caucasus, Azerbaijan against Armenia.... These are religious wars. Here is Tajikistan, and if these wars spread World War II will take place. We are in a situation similar to Europe in 1935. Nobody expected a war then and suddenly it has all started. Now Turkey and Iran can push toward Caucasus, the Turks are penetrating into the Balkans, Iraq in Central Asia, Afghanistan in Tajikistan. You will have pan Islamism, Balkans, Arabs. France and Germany will be destabilized. Finally, Europe will be in a state of war.

[Zerdin] Who can stop all this?

[Zhirinovskiy] Only Russia. Russia could be a factor of stability. It could stop the process of disintegration of Europe, the Balkans, and central Asia. You see yourselves what has happened after Russia has withdrawn from the Balkans. A war has happened. If Russia helps, war can be prevented.

[Zerdin] Slovenia would like to become a NATO member.

[Zhirinovskiy] Well, if Slovenia becomes a NATO member it will really be a servant. A servant! You were in the army, weren't you? You know how one has to polish boots. You will polish boots to the German and British officers. NATO will be able to send its troops in Slovenia and you will have to feed a foreign army. Only this and nothing more. Nobody will attack Slovenia, that is true, but it will be occupied by a foreign army.

[Zerdin] So what do you propose?

[Zhirinovskiy] Neutrality is the best. If you join NATO you will lose everything. Foreign soldiers will idle around and drink in your courtyard, while you will have to work for them.

Paper Criticizes Ministry for "Appeasement"

AU0302085094 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 2 Feb 94 p 17

[Commentary by Bernard Nezmah: "Diplomacy Without a Tail"]

[Excerpt] The Foreign Ministry of Lojze Peterle, who has been criticized in the parliament for placing forestry engineers in the highest positions, approached Zhirinovskiy's visit in Slovenia in an ingenious fashion. To win the Russian authorities' approval, the ministry advised Mr. Gorenko, charge d'affaires at the Russian Embassy in Ljubljana, that V. Zhirinovskiy should leave Slovenia as quickly as possible because his group had flagrantly disturbed public order in Bled. The Russian ambassador is, of course, looking toward the future and wisely advised that this problem should be resolved by the Slovene juridical system. However, the hand of the Slovene Foreign Ministry obviously does not reach beyond the foyer of its own building. Who is going to take seriously a foreign ministry that the Croatian authorities can outmaneuver anytime they please and that is threatening to the Russian parliamentarian like a paper tiger. While Peterle has been granting diplomatic privileges all over the place, he treats the chief of the most powerful Russian party worse than a foreign hooligan. How many affluent foreign guests have broken a little something in hotels and had a bit of fun on the streets but were not expelled from the country because of it? Furthermore, a vehicle that Lord Carrington was racing through Styria a few years ago fatally ran over a Slovene citizen. The English gentleman was neither expelled from the state nor prosecuted. A grim image of independent Slovenia without a sovereign foreign policy. Appeasement of the West and hatred of the East have reached the outermost limits of insanity. There is no longer any mention of Slovene neutrality in the parliament, not even a shred of an idea about the possible benefits of a military alliance with the Russians. Slovene politicians, with the exception of bright Jelincic, take it for granted that the United States have a more favorable attitude toward Slovene independence than Russia. They are falling all over prima donna Albright, who comes empty-handed, but fear Zhirinovskiy like a devil fears the cross, even though he has signed a statement with Jelincic on Slovenia's independence, its position as an East-West bridge, and other refined things. East Europeans are so very precious because they inspire some dignity in the Slovenes. Only next to the Ukrainian Foreign Minister has President Kucan managed to regain the appearance of a serious statesman. Now if only he could get rid of a bothersome tic that automatically pulls his face into a smile at the sight of a western politician.

Federal

Zhirinovskiy To Demand Lifting of Sanctions

LD0202153294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, today warned that Russia will not allow any provocations of and threats against Serbia, that it will demand the lifting of sanctions, and that unless this happens it will raise the issue of Russia's UN membership.

Zhirinovskiy said this in talks with Vojislav Seselj, the leader of the Serbian Radical Party, who was his host today at the Federal Assembly. He said that an organization which allows children to die for want of medicines can no longer be called the United Nations Organization. This, according to Zhirinovskiy, is an instrument in the hands of a state that has become an evil empire.

I am telling the West from Belgrade today that war games in the Balkans are over and that a new historic epoch is beginning, said the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, which won the highest number of votes in the recent Russian parliamentary elections.

Zhirinovskiy reiterated that he sides fully with the Serb people and that he regards Western threats against Serbia as threats against Russia. If the Serb people seek help we shall offer moral, material, and, if need be, also military support, he declared, warning that the Russian Army is still one of the strongest in the world. He informed his host that a meeting of support and solidarity with the Serb people will be held in Moscow on 5 February, and that Serb officers, party officials, and representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church will be invited to come on 20 February, Russian Army Day.

The leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party mentioned a proposal for the unification of Slav nations in an eastern European community. I am putting forward a proposal for the setting up of a Slav parliament in Belgrade or another Slav city which would be a counterpart to the European Parliament in Strasbourg, Zhirinovskiy said. He added that in relation to Western Europe, stretching from the English Channel to Vienna, the eastern European community would stretch from Knin to Vladivostok.

Zhirinovskiy announced that a congress of Slav nations will be held in Moscow on 2 April. With 1993 the withdrawal of Slavs and the passive attitude of the Orthodox Church ended. In 1994 a new historical era of the renaissance of Slav nations begins, he added. The Slavs are, he said, one nation, and if the German nation united, if the Germans, British, and French are uniting, why should not the Slavs do the same?

Zhirinovskiy stressed that his party supports democratic principles which should be respected equally by everyone. We do not support violence and we are not threatening anyone, we are just warning, he added. The Warsaw Pact has been dissolved and we also want NATO to be dissolved, Zhirinovskiy said, adding that the world is tired of hegemony.

The leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia proposes, as he put it, the regionalization of the world, dividing it into north and south America, eastern and western Europe, the Far East and Japan. In a world divided like this political power would be balanced and that would prevent a major new war.

Zhirinovskiy and Seselj said they are satisfied with the similarity of their parties' standpoints. Seselj stressed that the Serb nation is engaged in a great struggle to liberate its western territories. The Serbs differ on many internal policy issues but they are united as far as the defense of national interests is concerned, Seselj pointed out.

He said that Croats and Muslims are tools controlled by the West, which wants to break the backbone of the Serb nation. We were alone until you appeared, he declared to Zhirinovskiy. However, we have never stopped believing that the great Russian nation will stand up on its own feet and say no to the West. We are one people, our origins are the same, our languages are similar, and we can survive in the new world only by leaning on each other, Seselj said. He expressed his wish that, as soon as possible, the Liberal Democratic Party becomes the ruling party and Zhirinovskiy the president of Russia.

Army Staff Chief Comments on U.S. 'Spying'

LD0202065094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Kragujevac, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—Lieutenant Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav Army, said today that the U.S. intention to use remote-controlled aircraft (?controlled from) Albania for spying on the territory of the FRY and Bosnia clearly shows that the Americans have decided to embark on a full-scale intelligence operation by involving countries with certain designs against us.

In the Kragujevac radio program "The Hallmark of Time," Gen. Perisic said that Albania is in a certain way getting involved in a struggle against Yugoslavia by expressing certain territorial aspirations. Planned infiltration of their people, sent to carry out certain activities, into our territory is a part of the scenario. According to Perisic one of the main parts of the scenario is "to cause border incidents in order to present a false picture to the world of the suffering of innocent Albanians. Our border guards use weapons in accordance with the regulations of their service and gravest consequences have occurred," he said.

"The ultimate aim is to achieve one thing only—to create conditions for the international community to demonize the Serbs in this area too, as has been done in the Srpska republic and in the republic of Serb Krajina," the chief of the Yugoslav general staff said.

Asked to comment on increasingly frequent statements by politicians from the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia that the Macedonians are under threat from the north, Gen. Pensic said that "the creators of the new world order were not sure that Yugoslavia would be securely sealed in this region, so—under the pretext of preventing incidents—they sent their forces." Pensic said incidents in this region "happen periodically, but increasingly often."

"Incidents at the Yugoslav border with Albania and Macedonia are aimed at creating the impression that it is Yugoslavia that causes them, while in fact it is just the opposite. The aim is clear—to demonize the Serbs and Yugoslavia in the world's eyes in order to achieve the West's strategic objectives," Gen. Pensic concluded.

Serbia

Country Sending Military Aid, Units to "Krajinas"

94P20301A

[Editorial Report] In an article titled "Saber Rattling While Talking Peace," published on page 10 of the 28 January 1994 issue of Zagreb NEDJELJNJI VJESNIK, the paper's military analyst, Ivan Visnar, writes that Serbia has recently delivered new arms and equipment to the "Krajinas" to replace materiel "Serb rebels" lost during the war in Croatia in 1992-93 and in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbs did not even bother to camouflage tanks, guns, vehicles, and containers of ammunition loaded on trucks and railway cars sent to the Bosnian Serb Army, Visnar reports. All convoys for Baranja in eastern Croatia were escorted by military and police personnel of the so-called republic of Serbian Krajina, while transports bound for Bosnia were handled by military and police personnel of the so-called Srpska republic. Visnar believes that with the establishment of political relations with Herceg-Bosna and its army the Serbs have relieved the major burden on their forces, which will now probably feel free to "step up their attacks against the Muslim enclaves in eastern and central Bosnia." They might, he writes, launch their biggest military operations: "a combined motorized-infantry and airborne assault on Tuzla" and "a prolonged artillery and missile attack" on the Muslim stronghold of Zenica. As evidence of Serbian military objectives, Visnar cites data on "huge supplies" of sophisticated weapons sent to Serb-controlled Bosnia before the latest round of peace talks in Geneva on 18 January as well as the injection of Serb "elite units" to finish off the Bosnian-Hercegovina Army. Units of the 72d and 63d airborne brigades from Pancevo (Serbia) and the 63d airborne brigade from Nis (Serbia)—components of the Special Forces Corps within the 3d Serbian Army—were relocated to Bijeljina in Bosnia-Hercegovina, ostensibly for "maneuvers." Both brigades, Visnar points out, consist of professional personnel, 95 percent of whom are veterans of combat in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Their objective, Visnar states, is to take the Dubrava airfield near Tuzla to prevent UNPROFOR from reopening it and to "cleanse" the area of Muslims. He is convinced that to succeed the Serbs are prepared to endure even "a limited NATO air raid or air bombardment for a period of time." Visnar sees Belgrade as counting on Croatian support, since Croatia fears that the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, supplied through the Tuzla airport, would turn against the Croats in central Bosnia.

Despite a professed desire for normalization of relations between Serbia and Croatia, the VJESNIK article warns, the "Krajinas" are not defeated, and Milosevic's satellite state in Bosnia-Hercegovina has a strong army ready to protect its "weaker" brothers in Croatia and to fight the Bosnian Muslims. The article includes photographs of what it identifies as Serbian arms and equipment: 90- and 120-mm bazookas, SA-341 Gazelle attack helicopters, and T-54, T-55, and M-84A tanks, as well as a detailed description of the Dubrava airfield.

Zhirinovskiy Meets With Serb Patriarch Pavle

LD0202211594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] Belgrade, 2 February (TANJUG)—Serbian Patriarch Pavle received the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, in the Patriarchate today.

Following their talks behind closed doors that lasted for half an hour, Zhirinovskiy told a TANJUG journalist: "His holiness blessed us, and we invited him to come to Moscow where a congress of Slav nations is to be held on 4 April.

"We spoke of Russia's return to the right path of the Orthodox religion," Zhirinovskiy said stressing that the Russian and Serbian Orthodox churches should direct all their efforts to the spiritual renaissance of their nations.

"We shall invest efforts that the state make amends for everything that the Russian and the Serbian churches have lost over the past years. It would be better if the youths that have gone astray experience their purification through spiritual education than through prisons and emigration," Zhirinovskiy said.

Zhirinovskiy stressed that he was moved in particular by a plea made yesterday by a little girl from Herzegovina who told him: "Vladimir, save my dad who is on the front, don't let NATO kill my dad."

"Such moving things brought us here," he said.

Asked if he would meet Serbian President Milosevic, Zhirinovskiy said: "Maybe."

Even though it had been announced that only Zhirinovskiy and his two associates would pay a visit, numerous members of the Association of Serb-Russian Friendship also came to the Patriarchate, including the leader of the Party of Serb Unity, Zeljko Raznjatovic, and the chairman of the Serb National Renewal, Mirko Jovic.

Assembly Postponed for Consultations

AU0202153294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Report by Zoran Vaskovic from the Serbian Assembly]

[Excerpt] The assembly session only resumed a few minutes ago, but, believe it or not, it is already finished. Actually, it has been postponed until Tuesday [8 February].

The new Assembly Chairman Dragan Tomic stated that the reason for the delay in the session were consultations among the heads of the deputy caucuses. They were supposed to agree on the candidates for the [four] posts of deputy assembly chairmen. The meeting was not attended by any DEPOS representatives. In addition, only two people were proposed as deputy chairmen. Tomic thought that the best thing would be to hold more consultations and that the session should be postponed until Tuesday. [passage omitted]

Macedonia

Zhirinovskiy Offers Military Aid to Country

AU0202135694 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 2 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "Zhirinovskiy Offers Military Aid"]

[Text] At the press conference in Podgorica, Montenegro, Russian ultra nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said if Macedonia asks for a Russian military aid, it will easily be given to it, "just like to any other Slavic country." MAKPRESS informs Zhirinovskiy, asked "why he never includes Macedonia in his list of Orthodox Christian countries," answered "we have no reason to argue with Orthodox Greece."

Referring to Zhirinovskiy's statements in general, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is "not a political but a medical case."

UNPROFOR Troops in 'Street Fight' With Police

AU0302125394 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 3 Feb 94

[Unattributed report: "UNPROFOR Soldiers Fight Against Police"]

[Text] An incident took place at the Skopje city square, during the night between Friday and Saturday, last week, involving UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] soldiers and Macedonia police officers. Unofficially, about 20 UNPROFOR soldiers and 9 policemen started a street fight. Neither the Macedonian Police Department, nor the UNPROFOR Headquarters have so far issued any official announcement.

Montenegro

Opposition Leader Demands Independent State

AU0302111194 Rijeka NOVI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 94 pp 6-7

[Interview with Slavko Perovic, leader of the Liberal Union of Montenegro, by Dragan Ogurlic; place and date not given: "The State of the Montenegrins Has Been Stolen"]

[Text] Recently, the Croatian public also heard about Slavko Perovic, leader of the opposition Liberal Union of Montenegro [LSCG]. Perovic realized that ideas advocated by his party were best presented in numerous interviews for the media in the "seceded" part of Yugoslavia, which he does not recognize as a state anyway. The 38-year-old lawyer from Cetinje, a poet and a member of the Montenegro PEN [International Association of Poets, Playwrights, Editors, Essayists, and Novelists] center, one-time president of the Association of the Literary Municipality of Cetinje, who founded several magazines and radio stations, could write an interesting autobiography about the last ten years of his life. He experienced everything that an opposition leader would go through in a totalitarian regime: from arrests to tragic deaths of his family members caused by all kinds of attacks on Perovic and his party, whose members and followers are known by the symbol of the letter "L" made by separating the thumb and the index finger.

The LSCG was established as a political party on 26 January 1990. It is different from other five valid parties in that, since its establishment, it has been advocating a Montenegro constituted as an independent state. Perovic considers the LSCG a party of political discontinuity in Montenegro.

[Perovic] We are very proud of the fact that, in our history, there was no party that we could use and add to. Our political project can be reduced to only one sentence, whose elements should be considered as they interact. Here is the sentence: Free individuals, free nation, independent Montenegro, liberal civic democracy, unlimited private property, and a free market. Therefore, we are a party that wants to shape the political public opinion of Montenegro. In that sense, we notice all assets of Montenegro: its enviable cultural and historical heritage, its extremely favorable geopolitical position, its exceptional nature, and potential natural resources. According to our estimates, if Montenegro functioned as an independent political and economic entity, all those potentials could make it one of the richer areas in the Mediterranean in three to five years. We consider ourselves privileged and thank God for having put us on such a divine land. We want to change the course of Montenegrin history, especially that of the post-World War II era, whose development concepts have been destroying Montenegro.

Friendship With Budisa

[Ogurlic] There is a certain lack of clarity regarding the real political power of the LSCG. Some hold you are realistically the strongest opposition party, while others point at the Montenegrin parliament saying that you actually represented by only 13 deputies.

[Perovic] Let me tell you the truth. On 26 January 1990, we had 57 members, and today we have more than 19,000 members and that figure can best be appreciated in the light of the fact that, without refugees, Montenegro has about 620,000 inhabitants. We mostly gather intellectuals, youth, modern people. We base our ideas on a sentence of our great ancestor Marko Miljanov, who said that he who defends himself from another man is a hero, and he who defends another man from the evil inherent within himself is a man.

Indeed, the Liberal Union today holds 13 out of the 85 deputy seats in the Montenegrin parliament. Let me remind you that, in 1990, on the basis of the elections held in December, we only had one deputy in the parliament, which then had 125 deputies, and that both the first and the second elections in Montenegro were undemocratic, a farce, for we mean much more for the political life of Montenegro then one can conclude from the number of seats we hold in the parliament.

[Ogurlic] Being a leader of the strongest opposition party in Montenegro, how familiar are you with the situation in Croatia and to what extent could you be compared with Budisa's HSLS Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS—Croatia's leading opposition party]?

[Perovic] I think our program orientations are very close. Otherwise, we have very good contacts with the HSLS. We had contacts before the war as well, and to our great pleasure, we managed to preserve them regardless of all past and present conflicts. I can say that Mr. Budisa and I have a very friendly relationship.

We Do Not Recognize the FRY

[Ogurlic] And what are your relations with the so-called FRY? Do you admit to living in Yugoslavia at all?

[Perovic] We simply do not recognize the FRY as a country. We did not go to the federal elections and we do not intend to in the future either. Let me explain why. The FRY is a result of an invalid referendum held here in Montenegro, and the quality of that referendum is best described by the fact that it, from passing the parliamentary decision of the voting apparatus of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] on holding that referendum, to putting voting slips in ballot boxes, there were only seven days. Therefore, in just seven days, people had to decide on the state status of Montenegro, which is not a serious deadline in other states, not even regarding some municipal problems, let alone regarding those pertaining to the state.

We think that the referendum stole the country of the Montenegrins, and we did not want to take part in its work. I will tell you a story that describes the situation to people who are not very familiar with many Montenegrin qualities. This is the story: To recognize the FRY would be the same as when, for example, somebody steals 5 million dollars from you, opens his own bank with the money, appoints himself director, and offers you, whose money he stole, the position of a clerk in that bank. And you accept the offer, hoping that, using the internal legal organization of the bank, you will get hold of your money some day. The DPS, who promoted that theft, wants to convince us that the job of a bank clerk is great, they refer to it as being an equal in the FRY. We think that the position is unacceptable, we think the citizens and the international community must hear about that theft and try to achieve justice, i.e. to return what was stolen.

Milosevic Demands Acquiescence

[Ogurlic] Does Montenegro have any state attributes at all in this situation?

[Perovic] No. It only has Minister Lekic, who thinks he is a minister, and a prime minister who thinks he is a prime minister, and the president of the Republic who thinks he is president. But we should look at it from a different angle. The ruling party, the DPS, does not exist at all. It is a small interest group that became very rich thanks to war profiteering and the black market. And they realized that Milosevic's iron grip is no longer in their interest. Now they are trying to distance themselves from Milosevic's regime, for he is no longer satisfied with the level of their sycophancy. Until now, they were kneeling before Milosevic, and now he demands acquiescence, i.e. for them to kneel and be down on their elbows. That is a little too much to demand, even from them. And they are trying to present to the world the fact that they are still on their knees as a kind of democratic effort, and so on. Consequently, by means of Minister Lekic and President of the Republic Bulatovic, who suddenly became a peacemaker although he organized war-time persecution in Montenegro, they are trying to present Montenegro as something different, which it really is, but not because they want that, but because civic opposition in Montenegro is an important factor. For foreign political representatives, Minister Lekic and President Bulatovic are the democratic face of an essentially antidemocratic power.

[Ogurlic] How do you interpret demands to abolish the Montenegrin Defense Ministry and Foreign Ministry?

[Perovic] The Defense Ministry was abolished at the request of the army and because local authorities did not seriously resist, and as to the Foreign Ministry, it will abolish itself anyway. I think that in the next couple of months Mr. Lekic will not be able to go anywhere from the airport in Tirana, for nobody will want to have him. The essence of antidemocratic authorities is most obvious in its relation to the opposition, where that space for the opposition is being persistently narrowed, as well as the space for the media; people are arrested for being members of certain parties, they are maltreated, followed by secret police, their telephones are tapped.

That is all a reflection of those authorities that actually function in legal and political provisory situation, for Montenegro is definitely not a state.

We and the Serbs Are Not One

[Ogurlic] You are probably bothered by the fact that Europe and the world think Serbia and Montenegro are one, for I suppose that Montenegro is not a recognizable separate entity?

[Perovic] Yes, that is a great injustice to Montenegro. Indeed, it is not done on purpose, for they seem to be interested in the real situation. When they consider Montenegro, they look at the statistics and the result of the elections; they do not want to hear our explanation that those were undemocratic elections.

[Ogurlic] Let us get back to the country you do not recognize. Does the Federal Assembly exist at all?

[Perovic] The Federal Assembly is a circus that entertains Slobodan Milosevic and his wife Mirjana Markovic, who writes homework for POLITIKA and DUGA. That body makes no decisions whatsoever; all decisions were made in Milosevic's study or in some other room. The Federal Assembly was destroyed the moment Seselj joined that body. Belgrade journalist Stojan Cerovic recently wrote a wonderful sentence describing the situation in the parliament; he said that ever since Mr. Seselj appeared in the federal parliament, that body looks like a cellar with a broken sewage pipe. It looks no better today.

[Ogurlic] Is it a coincidence that, lately, one hears the Montenegrins demanding their own church, news agency, airline company...?

[Perovic] That is not a coincidence. Regarding the Montenegrin Autocephalous Church, justice prevailed that day at Cetinje; the Montenegrin Orthodox Church has again become autocephalous, which it was for 300 years, and it became obvious that the Serbian Orthodox Church has been an intruder in Montenegro since 1920, when the then-regent of Yugoslavia, and later King Aleksandar Karadjordjevic, abolished the Montenegrin Orthodox Church against canon-law and annexed Montenegro to Serbia. Since that time, the territory of Montenegro has been exposed to the assimilation processes of Belgrade.

Elections? No, the People Have Not Yet Suffered Enough

The process of imposing greater Serbian ideas on the territory of Montenegro gained momentum after Risto Radovic became the metropolitan bishop, for that man is telling the Montenegrins every day that they are the result of communist Balkan-Broz [Josip Broz Tito] fabrication, that they do not exist as a nation, and so forth. When people realized that they could not baptize their children in any of 660 Montenegrin churches—if they want to baptize them as Montenegrins—but that they can only register them as Serbs of Serbian religion, that was the final straw. The same holds for marriages.

[Ogurlic] You live under sanctions. I have been here only four days. Tell me how do you manage at all?

[Perovic] People still have some supplies left, many families have somebody working abroad, but the fact is that you cannot do much even if you have German marks, for there is nothing to buy. Shops in Montenegro have nothing on their shelves, except for perhaps two or three items. Until just a couple of months ago, street dealers would exchange German marks; today, that does not help, because prices are sky-high. One kilogram of something that costs 5 or 10 German marks [DM] in the West, costs DM30 in Montenegro. That is horrible.

[Ogurlic] Do you want parliamentary and presidential elections in Montenegro now?

[Perovic] No. People have not suffered enough yet. Given some time, the Montenegrins will have to decide which way to take: the road to total destruction, which is imminent in this situation, or they will realize that it would be best if they themselves decided about their destiny. We think that the only way out of this situation is to demand political sovereignty for Montenegro. For, Montenegro is suffering under sanctions for one reason only: because the political authorities were so close to Milosevic's regime. There are some signs from the West that, if Montenegro became independent, sanctions would be lifted from it. After lifting sanctions, we would be a little below zero and I am convinced that, due to the comparative advantages of Montenegro and the fact that it could be saved by a relatively small amount of money, Montenegro could recover, even with the present destroyed infrastructure.

[Ogurlic] You are accused of wanting to sell Montenegro to the Italians very cheaply?

[Perovic] Well, those imputations come from Belgrade and go to Belgrade. We definitely do not want to sell ourselves to anyone, but we would like to communicate with the world, if that were in our interest. Why can we not say that we will see who offers more? We know what Belgrade has given us and what it offers.

"A Fairy Brings Joy From Lovcen...."

[Ogurlic] Tell us you opinion of an event that happened two years ago, when Dubrovnik was fiercely shelled. What do you think about that hundred-kilometers-long black spot on the conscience of the Montenegrins?

[Perovic] I will tell you what I think: The entire Dubrovnik operation, except for some goals revealed by General Kadijevic in his book "The War as I See It," had a much deeper meaning for Montenegro, and the idea behind that operation was to discredit Montenegro on a global level. And the operation managed to do that. Consequently, for one year, the entire planet was abuzz with rumors that the Montenegrins were shelling Dubrovnik, destroying it and plundering, and so forth. That is true, but, on the other hand, it is also true that several statements and interviews that Slobodan Milosevic gave to the world press confirm what I have said. Asked what he thought about the events in

Dubrovnik, he always replied he had nothing to do with that, that they should ask the authorities in Podgorica. Indeed, the authorities in Podgorica were not responsible for the mobilization, but they did nothing to stop that campaign.

And then, in an interview, I told Mr. Bulatovic he should realize that those who aimed their guns and cannons at Dubrovnik are madmen and that was insane politics, and that, as the president of Montenegro he had to commit himself and choose between the glory of Dubrovnik and what it stands for in a Slavic world, and the glory of Kadijevic's epaulettes. So, if he should decide on Dubrovnik, and that would not be a dilemma for any normal man, I told him he should kneel before those people who were badly manipulated and try to get them back to the borders of Montenegro. However, he opted for the glory of Kadijevic's epaulettes, for the role of a pawn; he went to the battlefield, they took his picture while Vojislav Seselj personally reviewed some troops. The final result of that campaign was that the traditional Montenegro, all the stories of courage, bravery, morals, and so forth, were lost on that Dubrovnik battlefield and they can never be told again.

We feel very badly about those horrible events, not only because of the suffering of the inhabitants of Dubrovnik and Konavli. In Montenegro, we organized a vigorous anti-war campaign, which, unfortunately, was not broadcasted. We staged several rallies, and the one in Cetinje was the biggest of all with 15,000 people.

I realized that the Montenegro in my heart was saved the moment those 15,000 people started singing "A fairy brings joy from Lovcen, Dubrovnik, forgive us." The result of that antiwar campaign was that not a single attempt at mobilization in Montenegro succeeded, and if it were not for us, the consequences would have probably been much worse. Dozens of people returned from the battlefield, threw their weapons away, and accepted the political messages of the Liberal Union, so that, in a way, Dubrovnik became a catharsis of our movement.

On the other hand, we must do everything to apologize to the Croats and to Croatia, and especially to Dubrovnik and Konavli, and that, God willing, one day, the Montenegro I have in mind will do its best to help Dubrovnik heal its physical and spiritual wounds and that our two nations can start communicating again.

Not an Inch More, Not an Inch Less

[Ogurlic] What borders do you want for Montenegro as a country?

[Perovic] The present ones. Our postulate is that the present borders of Montenegro are the borders of Montenegro as a state, and we consider them a realistic expression of Montenegrin political, military, and diplomatic power or impotence throughout history. Our motto is: Not an inch of our territory more, not an inch less.

[Ogurlic] And what about Prevlaka?

[Perovic] We know to whom Prevlaka belongs. Today, it obviously belongs to the Republic of Croatia, under UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] command, and we have always said that those two and a half kilometers of rocky land are not worth the death of any Montenegrin, let alone those 200 unfortunate young men who died in vain for someone's unreasonable goals. Prevlaka would be worth fighting for if this were 1852, but that became complete nonsense when fighter airplanes were invented. However, you must understand that propaganda in Montenegro was such that Goebbels was a real amateur in comparison. The entire historical milieu was reconstructed; everything Croatian was pronounced Ustashi, people were totally mislead, and it was all added to a very incomplete and bad education system in which history lessons boiled down to events from 1941 onward, and people had no idea about the deeper strata of their history.

[Ogurlic] In a way, the Croatian public is interested in the destiny of the Croats in Boka Kotorska....

[Perovic] The Croats in Boka Kotorska, especially in Tivat, were under enormous pressure, we must say that, and we are informed that some of them left in the meantime, which we, in the Liberal Union, frown upon. We are trying to do everything to protect their human rights in Montenegro. Let me tell you, because we supported the Croats, we were accused of wanting to see Boka Kotorska belong to a greater Croatia. Due to the fact that our members are also Albanians and we protect the Albanians, we are accused of wanting a greater Albania. For defending the Muslims, we were accused of being a part of "the Teheran plot against the heavenly nation," and for being Montenegrins, it is obvious we are anti-Serbs, and so forth. However, exactly because our party is this open, things are turning to our political advantage. We must not be satisfied with that, for, today, Montenegro is facing destruction.

Assembly Adopts New Economic Reform Program

AU0302115494 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 94 pp 6-7

[Report by Dragan Djuric: "To the Last German Mark"]

[Text] The debate on the set of acts by which the program of reconstruction of the monetary system has been brought into operation was held in a half-empty conference hall of the Assembly. Thanks to the deputies of the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS], the hall was filled only during the voting. This time, the quorum was ensured in time, and all 11 acts have been adopted without any major problems. Even Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic performed his role of a cog in the voting machinery honestly, making no efforts to help his republican colleague and party comrade [Milo Djukanovic] in the argumentation and defense of the program, the main supporter of which is actually Kontic himself. It seems as though the silence of the DPS during the hot debate on the latest anti-inflation program was

calculated. The entire activity of the ruling party's deputies boiled down to occasional attempts to irritate the opposition. This time it is the party's professional, Milutin Ojdanic, who was particularly active in such attempts, together with the usual Beba Dzakovic and Danilo Vuksanovic.

Prime Minister in Clinch

[Montenegrin] Prime Minister Milo Djukanovic was not particularly convincing. Which is no wonder. It is difficult for anybody, except Sveto Marovic, to talk convincingly about something that he or she does not believe in. As for the long-term effects of Avramovic's program, nobody intelligent—except, perhaps, Professor Mile Markovic—believes in them. While he was retelling the contents of that program, he irresistibly reminded us of the good old days when he elaborated the party doctrine in communities. The DPS deputies did not react to the competent expert and political remarks by the opposition to the proposed program. They left Djukanovic to fight alone. The prime minister was courageously getting into a clinch, but it was also clear to him that he was giving a lecture on a very general topic.

Basically, the game was quite clear. The authorities were making efforts to use the Assembly as a cover, and to water down the responsibility for the imminent failure of the program by telling stories about a political consensus. Thus the members of the opposition were told in advance that it would be resented if the program failed to succeed as a result of their obstruction.

Milos Radulovic clarified the meaning vividly. When engineers plan a plane, it will certainly fly, which cannot be said for the planning of economic programs. And that is precisely because of the limitations that cannot be influenced by the government, since they are brought about by people and their conduct. Such a mechanism for creating enemies did not remain unrecognized. Though everybody competed in exposing this mechanism, still, the most convincing were populists and liberals. "The ruling party cannot demand our absolute and unconditional support for the program, and if that support fails to come, to declare us traitors," Dragan Soc said.

"The program is yours, you adopted it without asking for our opinion, and you are implementing it without our participation." The radicals were less eye-catching this time. They did not demand any consciousness-raising [osvestavanje] regarding the program this time.

The populists tried to refrain from any detailed discussion, and to toss the hot potato of responsibility into the hands of the DPS. Their general attitude is: "Why did you not adopt this program earlier? May the ruling party take all the credit for the program if it succeeds, but if it fails, it ought to take the consequences." Misko Vukovic took upon himself to explain the populists' unprincipledness by asking: "How could the party whose minister in the Federal Government, that is the actual architect of the program, is in charge of one of the most important departments—employment and social care—how could that party possibly dissociate itself from the program? In response, Djukanovic made efforts to show the people that the People's Party is unprepared to responsibly take part in dealing with the burden that the current period is bringing about.

Refreshment of Mind

The liberals tried the impossible, to force the DPS into assuming responsibility for the implementation of the program: "If the program fails, can you, gentlemen from the DPS, bind your fate to it, and will you, in that, case announce early democratic elections?" "The DPS is ready to assume the responsibility, because the program has been elaborated by experts, and it has won, if not an absolute, then a dominant support of the economic intelligentsia of this country," Djukanovic responded.

Nevertheless, the Montenegrin prime minister put the key responsibility for the implementation of the program on the National Bank of Yugoslavia and the Office for Monetary Traffic [Sluzba za platni promet] that are supposed to protect the program from misuse. Petrovic's polemics referred to the elections: "All your projects have failed. If I had been you, I would have resigned as early as after the first failure, while you, you do not even allow elections after so many failures." The leader of the liberals adequately disturbed the atmosphere in the Assembly by efforts to refresh the memory of the regime representatives, reminding them of their countless "optimistic starts." The essence of his performance would be: Montenegro is looking more and more like Enver Hoxha's Albania because of the projects are based on great deceptions, while the latest program regarding the super-dinar is actually a super-swindle, a preparation for the introduction of a state of emergency.

Djukanovic made sure that each question received a proper answer. He connected the liberals with the odious West "that is mercilessly starving our children," and thereby "morally identified" the liberals' treason, as the, this time, quite reticent Marovic would say. However, in polemics, one frequently blurts out some quite important things. Djukanovic maintained that the lifting of the sanctions does not depend solely on Yugoslavia, and even explained that the government elaborated the program because it can no longer wait for the international community to recognize its mistake and lift the sanctions!? The Montenegrin prime minister also explained that the program actually means a return to the elementary economic alphabet, which will do away with the sweet illusion of the primary issue of money. Still, while saying that, he forgot his own statement that it is precisely the government that (independently from the elementary economic alphabet) consciously and deliberately went for that sweet illusion, and functioned with it quite well for a long time.

The social-democrats were particularly straightforward in their critique of the program. Zarko Rakcevic pointed out that everybody is aware of the necessity of endorsing such a program, since the further rise of the inflationary spiral will lead directly into an abyss. The cut was

inevitable, but the question is still open: Whether it was a real cut, and whether it was made in the right place. The real causes of the existing situation are in the sphere of politics, and they cannot be eliminated by an economic program. Therefore the ruling party is wrong when it claims that the program has no alternative. It has, but for that alternative one has to change the trend in politics. The planned expansion of the monetary union to both Krajinas [in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina] means, actually, financing the war in a different way. "Such a manifestation of imperialistic policy will not find any support abroad," Rakcevic said. The crucial problem that exists in the program is the deficit of the public spending. The possibilities for that deficit to be really covered are quite unclear and doubtful. The fear that the pressure might be so great that in two months the printing of fake money would start again is quite justified as it happens, some extraordinary measures can be expected. "Let us not allow the last remaining reserves of the citizens to be exhausted in a fruitless battle," Dragisa Burzan warned.

Disobedient Dealers

All in all, the opposition acted as an opposition, while the authorities acted as authorities. For the Montenegrin political circumstances even that is a considerable step forward. The program has been adopted without the accord of the opposition, who made great efforts, particularly the liberals and the social-democrats, to state their own views of how to get out from the civilizational blind alley. The way out is in a change of the overall political atmosphere. "It is necessary that Montenegro finally and resolutely dissociates itself from the policy of violently tailoring and destroying our former fatherland, and that the authorities finally stop disintegrating the state-making and national being of its people, and disturbing the cultural, religious, and national balance that has always existed in this part of the world," Dragan Ivancevic said.

Regardless of certain interpretations of the program that allege it is to buy time for the government, the set of 11 taxation laws, by which the implementation of the program (regarding public revenues, employment, contributions to welfare, the tax on profit, the tax on property, the tax on citizens' incomes, the turnover tax, the tax on private firms) has been brought into operation, was adopted in a very short time.

That same evening, with the Assembly debate still going on, the street dealers in Podgorica were already exchanging 10 German marks for 11 super-dinars.

Kosovo

Serb Authorities Close 70 Albanian Enterprises

AU0102195694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1835 GMT 1 Feb 94

[Text] The Serbian authorities in Kosova are obstructing every kind of endeavor by Albanians. Based upon orders from the Serbian leadership in Belgrade, 70 Albanian private enterprises have been closed in various centers of Kosova in the last 15 days.

Vojvodina

Hungarians Praise VMDK Meeting With Milosevic

LD0202232994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 2 Feb 94

[Text] [Presenter] The Hungarians in Vojvodina were very pleased to hear about the discussion of Serbian President Milosevic with the chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK]. This was stated in the letter sent by Andras Agoston [VMDK chairman] to the Serbian president. (Szilveszter Varga) reports.

[Varga] The VMDK chairman informed Milosevic that the presidium of the Vojvodina Hungarian organization felt that the fact that Agoston was allowed to attend the meeting [on 27 January] between the Hungarian foreign minister [Geza Jeszenszky] and the Serbian president was a gesture. In the view of the presidium, this could mark the start of a settlement of the unresolved problems of the Vojvodina Hungarians, whose basis could be the VMDK's autonomy proposal in both a legal and political sphere.

The VMDK presidium points out: The VMDK's plans guarantee the possibility for the Hungarians to survive as a true ethnic group [nepcsoport] in Vojvodina.

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